

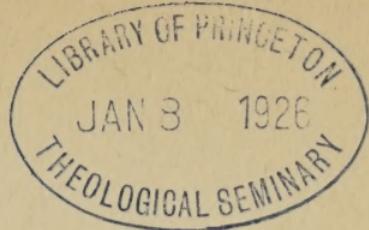
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Jeremy Taylor

English Theologians

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JEREMY TAYLOR

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ANTHONY WOOD'S DESCRIPTION OF JEREMY TAYLOR'S GENIUS

He had not only the accomplishments of a gentleman, but so universal were his parts, that they were proportion'd to everything. And tho' his spirit and humour were made up of smoothness and gentleness, yet he could bear with the harshness and roughness of the schools, and was not unseen in their subtleties and spinosities. His skill was great both in the civil and canon law and casuistical divinity: And he was a rare conductor of souls, and knew how to counsel, and to advise; to solve difficulties, and determine cases, and quiet consciences. To these may be added his great acquaintance with the fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and the doctors of the first and purest ages both of the Greek and Latin church; which he hath made use of against the Roman catholics to vindicate the church of England from the challenge of innovation, and to prove her ancient, catholic, and apostolical. Add to all these, he was a person of great humility, had nothing in him of pride and humour, but was courteous and affable and of easy access. He was withal a person of great charity and hospitality: and whosoever compares his plentiful incomes with the inconsiderable estate he left at his death, will be easily convinc'd that *Charity* was steward for a great proportion of his revenue.

ATHENAE OXON.,
Vol. III, Col. 784-5.

PREFACE

JEREMY TAYLOR is a name revered and honoured by all who love the English language ; yet it must be confessed that with the exception of his devotional works and sermons little attention has been given to his writings—at least from a theological standpoint ; while the life of the author of *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* is almost entirely unknown to many of his readers.

The purpose of this volume is therefore two-fold : first, to present a slight sketch of Taylor's life and times ; and secondly, to give an account of his more important works which have a direct bearing upon the theological thought of the present age. Criticism has been rarely offered, except upon those matters wherein Taylor has departed from the received doctrine of the Church ; but numerous quotations and references are given, in the hope that the reader will examine Taylor's Works for himself.

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CHAPTER I

LIFE AND TIMES

JEREMY TAYLOR was born in an age when the Church of England was on the verge of a great upheaval. Theological controversy had become a passion, almost an obsession. Three main parties—one might almost say churches—struggled for supremacy within the one Church. First there were the Puritans, who, regarding the Reformation not as an accomplished fact but as the preliminary stage only in a much vaster movement, aimed at a complete revolution in Church doctrine and Church government. For them history carried little weight; outward forms and ceremonies were dismissed as superstitions. They desired to bring the Church of England into closer touch with the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and in their doctrinal outlook were Calvinistic. In opposition to the Puritans was the Anglican school of divines, who in the days of Elizabeth had also been largely Calvinistic. The Arminian controversy, however, had affected in a marked degree their theological position. They now rejected the severe and narrow dogmatism of Calvin, and were animated by the freer spirit of enquiry which Arminianism undoubtedly fostered. Steeped in patristic learning, deeply versed in the Holy Scriptures, they were intellectually the Liberal Churchmen of their age. The Church of England they maintained was a true part of the One, Holy, Catholic Church. Their cause had been valiantly upheld by the ‘judicious Hooker’ against the pretensions of Geneva and Rome; and at the beginning of James’s reign this

party numbered among its adherents Richard Field, John Overall, Thomas Bilson, John Buckeridge, Lancelot Andrewes, John Donne, and William Laud.

There was, lastly, a third party refusing allegiance to either of the foregoing. Its greatest spokesman was Chillingworth, and a not unworthy representative was Falkland. Disliking the extreme dogmatism and narrowness of the Puritans on the one hand, and regarding with some suspicion the tendencies of the Anglican school on the other, this party found its chief supporters among the educated laymen to whom 'the plain places of scripture' and inspired reason appealed more strongly than the divine prerogatives of kingship and episcopacy.

Such, in outline, was the state of parties when Jeremy Taylor was baptized in Holy Trinity Church, Cambridge, on August 15, 1613. His father, Nathaniel Taylor, described as a 'barber', most probably belonged to the lower middle classes; he was a man of upright character and perhaps of some intellectual attainment. In 1621 he became church warden at Holy Trinity Church, an office his father Edmund Taylor had held for a considerable number of years before him. Jeremy Taylor's mother was Mary Dean who had married Nathaniel Taylor in Holy Trinity Church on October 13, 1605.¹

Beyond these scanty facts nothing is known of Taylor's parentage. It is true that Bishop Heber, relying upon the Jones's manuscripts, described Nathaniel Taylor as the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor who had suffered martyrdom in the Marian persecution. Unfortunately these manuscripts are surrounded with mystery, and their historical value is

¹ For further particulars of the Taylor family see Appendix III. A.

probably nil. It is significant that George Rust, himself a native of Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Connor, in his eloquent panegyric preached on Taylor's death, makes no reference to Dr. Rowland Taylor, although one-half of the sermon is biographical. On the other hand, however, in a letter written by Taylor to William Dugdale, the famous antiquary, he mentions a coat-of-arms which he apparently intended to borrow from the ' Taylors of Cumberland and Northumberland.'¹ Dugdale's reply has not been preserved ; but it is interesting to observe that Dr. Rowland Taylor was himself born at Rothbury in Northumberland. In the absence of any trustworthy evidence the tradition that Taylor was the lineal or collateral descendant of the sixteenth century martyr cannot be substantiated.

The exact place and date of Taylor's birth are both a little uncertain. There are conflicting traditions in regard to the former, and the entry in the Admission Book of Gonville and Caius contradicts Rust's statement that Taylor was thirteen years old when he entered college. A careful study of the traditions and of such documentary evidence as has been preserved makes it tolerably certain that Taylor was born in the inn known as the Black Bear situate in Holy Trinity Parish, Cambridge, at a date very near that of his baptism.

One of the most remarkable and favourable features of this period was the extraordinary number of grammar schools then springing up in all parts of the country, providing a preparatory training for the Universities. Young Taylor was sent to 'the free school' at Cambridge, and he owed both his school and university

¹ Hamper's *Life of Dugdale*, Letter 65 (mutilated), dated April 1, 1651.

education to the munificence of Dr. Stephen Perse after whom 'the free school' was named. This generous benefactor, dying a wealthy man, bequeathed £9,000 to charitable purposes. He acquired the site on which formerly stood the house of the Augustinian Friars in Cambridge, and directed in his will (dated September 27, 1615) that there should be built 'a convenient house to be used for a Grammar Free School with one lodging chamber for the Master and another for the Usher.'¹ Scholars were to be accommodated to the number of one hundred being natives of Cambridge, Barnwell, Chesterton, or Trumpington. When exactly Taylor entered the Perse School it is difficult to say. According to the Admission Book of Gonville and Caius he had been ten years ('per decennium') under the instruction of Lovering the first head master. This entry, coupled with Rust's statement already referred to, has led some of his biographers to suppose that at 'three years he was sent to the free school in his native town then newly founded under the will of Stephen Perse.'² 'Per decennium' does not necessarily imply ten whole years; it may stand for little more than nine. It is, however, impossible that Taylor could have been at the Perse School under Lovering even for nine years, since the foundation-stone was not laid until 1618 and there is no trace of any boys being admitted until the following year. This does not entirely dispose of the entry in the Admission Book. Thomas Lovering, who was probably a friend of Dr. Perse, having been master of a school

¹ Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii, 95-101, and Cooper's *Memorials of Cambridge*, iii, 154-160, give some account of the Perse School.

² H. K. Bonney, p. 3. Heber, p. 13.

kept in St. Edward's Church, Cambridge, where Thomas Elwin, Perse's brother-in-law, was educated, became master of King's College School, Cambridge, in about the year 1615. It is, therefore, highly probable that Taylor was under Lovering at the latter school when he was about four years old, and accompanied his master when appointed head of the Perse School. Taylor would appear to have been one of the first scholars admitted to the Perse School, but of this there can be no certainty, as the admission register of this date is not extant. Lovering was a scholar of some repute and remained at the Perse School until 1636 when he became head master of Norwich School. He was very popular with his pupils who boasted that they 'were wont by Mr. Lovering to be made Minerva's darlings.'

Of Taylor's school days nothing is known. The Ordinances of the Perse School, drawn up by the founder's executors and dated February 19, 1624, supply sufficient material for the construction of a tolerably full account of what Taylor's school life would be like. School began at six o'clock in the morning and with a break of two hours continued until five o'clock in the evening ; the boys were 'carefully and diligently taught as well in good manners, as in all other instruction and learning fit to be learned in a grammar school.' The education thus provided was free, except for the payment of a sum of 12*d.* to the Usher who wrote the names of the boys in two paper books 'one of which was to be retained by the Master and Usher and the other for the Executors or Supervisors who chose the scholars.' Among Taylor's contemporaries at the Perse School were Backe and Perse, both great-nephews of the founder, and it is just possible that George Rust was also a pupil. In its early days the school flourished

exceedingly and under Lovering's wise supervision Taylor ripened for the University.

On August 18, 1626, Taylor entered Gonville and Caius as a 'pauper scholaris' or sizar, and matriculated on the following March 17.¹ At that period the sizars did not form a distinct society or dine at separate tables, as was the case at a later date, nor does there appear to have been any rigid class distinction. Taylor's tutor was Thomas Batchcroft who, because of the 'tutorial system' then generally in vogue, would exercise no slight influence over the life and thought of his pupil. Soon after Taylor's admission to Gonville and Caius Batchcroft was elected to the Mastership of the college. From Mede's letter to Sir Martin Stuteville with reference to the election,² and some contemporary documents quoted in Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*,³ it is possible to gather some impression of Batchcroft himself. He was not a brilliant scholar but distinguished himself chiefly as an excellent man of business. Quiet and unassuming in his manner, he discharged with commendable thoroughness the duties that devolved upon him as Master, Bursar, and Tutor. The infinite pains he gladly bestowed upon the most trifling matters of

¹ Tailor postea Episc D. Jeremias Tailor filius Nathanaelis Tonsoris Cantabrigiae natus et ibidem literis instructus in Schola publica Sub Mro. Lovering p' decennium anno a'tatis suæ 15º admisus est in Collegium Nostrum Augusti 18º 1626 pauper scholaris Fidejussore Mro. Bachcroft. Solvit pro ingressu.

Sic est Tho Bachcroft.

From the Admission Book of Gonville and Caius.

² Venn, *Biographical History*, iii, 85-6.

³ *Ibid.*, 279-82.

college routine would probably have been regarded with some contempt by a more brilliant or inventive mind. Possessing little of that dazzling eloquence which at once distinguishes and mars many of his contemporaries, his fidelity and affectionate nature won the confidence and respect of his collegiates. Even his enemies who ejected him from office attributed to him 'the character of a person of great honesty and integrity, and of a most pious, grave and upright conversation.'¹ A Royalist at heart he had nevertheless little sympathy with the extravagant claims then being made on behalf of prerogative government in Church and State. Young Taylor was fortunate in such a tutor from whom he could not fail to learn those unalterable moral principles upon which he was afterwards to insist with exquisite eloquence and transparent sincerity. It was the ethical aspect of religion that Batchcroft's lofty character was certain to impress upon the minds of his pupils. If Taylor derived from his tutor the fundamental ideas of monarchical government he certainly far outstripped him in the expression he afterwards gave them.

It has already been pointed out that Taylor was indebted for both his school and university training to the generosity of Dr. Perse, who in addition to founding the 'free school' had endowed six scholarships and six fellowships at Caius College, preference being given to 'fit scholars' of the Perse School. It was on the Perse foundation that Taylor entered Caius; but on account of the large numbers of students then in residence, he did not receive any emolument as a scholar until the Annunciation 1629. During the first three decades of the seventeenth century the Universities were at the

¹ Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii, 145.

very height of their training influence, not to be reached again, at any rate in point of numbers, until two centuries later when the population of the country had increased more than fourfold.¹

While it is impossible to attribute Taylor's genius and the vast erudition he displays in his writings to the studies he pursued while at the University, there can be little question that Cambridge evoked his genius and laid in some measure the foundations of the immense learning so conspicuous in his works. His arguments are invariably cast in the scholastic mould, and his reading after leaving the University was obviously of the kind which characterized the studies he pursued when a scholar. The Baconian philosophy had indeed at that time obtained a *slight* footing in the University; but Taylor's works bear no marks of it. His studies as an undergraduate included rhetoric, logic, classics and philosophy; and after taking his B.A. degree in 1630-1 he would attend the public lectures in philosophy, astronomy and classics.²

The moral tone of the University was undoubtedly on a low level. Drunkenness, excessive smoking, and immorality are among the commoner vices attributed to the students. Sir Simonds D'Ewes, a fellow-commoner of St. John's in 1620, draws a very ugly picture of university life in which swearing, drinking, rioting, and lust are prominent features. Some allowance perhaps should be made for the Puritanical sympathies of the writer, but his indictment is corroborated by

¹ In 1626 278 students graduated B.A. at Cambridge and 239 at Oxford. Huber, *English Universities*, i, 448 and 445.

² See *The University of Cambridge* by J. B. Mullinger, vols. ii and iii.

Hampden, Digby, Capell, Hyde, and Falkland. The vicious practices of the Court were alas ! finding expression in the life of the University. The drama, with all its possibilities of presenting to youthful minds the loftiest conceptions of morality, was often of a gross character sharing the licentiousness of the London stage.

No particulars of Taylor's college life have been preserved, except the scanty records in the college books which indicate his progress as a student. He held his scholarship from Michaelmas 1628 to Michaelmas 1633. At the latter date he was elected to a Junior Fellowship on the Perse foundation, which he retained until January, 1635-6 ; but he augmented his stipend by receiving pupils, and thus renewed his connexion with the Perse School, as he became tutor to three Perse boys who went up to Caius—John Angier, Edward Langsdale, and Martin Perse. It was his intimacy with the second that probably led to his marriage which will be noticed later. In 1633¹ Taylor was admitted into Holy Orders, and in the following year was appointed by Batchcroft *praelector rhetoricus*.

Before closing this brief sketch of Taylor's life at Cambridge a reference must be made to his brilliant contemporaries. It has been truly and finely said :—

The Annals of the English Church do not, throughout all its period, present a galaxy more resplendent than the admirable band of men united by close sympathies and

¹ The exact date of Taylor's ordination is not known. Extensive enquiries have been made by the writer but without success. Comber in his *Discourse on the Offices of Ordination*, 1699, says : 'I could instance in divers of those who entered very young into the ministry, and have proved very eminent ; but I need name no more than the most famously learned Bishop Usher, ordained before he was twenty-one ; and the pious and eloquent bishop, Jer. Taylor, who entered into orders younger than he.'

common views in matters of faith and practice, who adorned the University of Cambridge at that period. Indeed were a synod of the wise and good to be imagined by the glowing fancy of an ardent visionary, which should unite the widest range of learning with the richest eloquence, and the most comprehensive Christian philanthropy with every holier grace of personal character, could it be better bodied forth than in Taylor, Mede, More, Whichcote, Rust, Worthington and Smith ?¹

Such was the brilliant assembly of rare genius Cambridge then reared and fostered ; yet none of these men, save Rust, appears to have touched Taylor's secluded life. Immersed in the study of the Fathers and Schoolmen, he was preparing himself for his work as preacher, controversialist, and director of souls. His natural eloquence, learning, and refinement of manner marked him out at Cambridge as one certain, in due course, to win the hearts of admiring congregations. Fortunately for Taylor he had not long to wait before his genius was discovered ; and according to contemporary writers the obscure Cambridge Fellow suddenly rose to fame in a manner which reads more like romance than sober history.

It appears that one of Taylor's college 'chums' a certain Thomas Risden, who had pursued the same academic course as Taylor, was appointed lecturer in divinity at St. Paul's Cathedral. While not possessing any of the special gifts of Taylor, he was a preacher well above the average. For some unknown reason, Risden was unable to fulfil his engagement at St. Paul's and Taylor was invited to officiate in his stead. His success was instantaneous and complete. No one had preached in St. Paul's with such impassioned eloquence,

¹ Crossley's Edition of Worthington's *Diary* quoted by Mulsinger, *Cambridge in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 84.

since the great Dean who had been dead three years.¹ That his reputation as a preacher was established is the unanimous testimony of his earliest biographers. ‘He preached to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory; and by his florid and youthful beauty and sweet and pleasant air and sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel, newly descended from the vision of glory.’² Anthony Wood says, ‘he behaved himself with great credit and applause far above his years.’ Lloyd in his *Memoirs* has the same verdict. Taylor’s engagement at St. Paul’s was, however, only of a temporary nature; he may possibly have occupied the pulpit on three or four occasions; but the news of his extraordinary ability soon reached the ears of ‘the greatest Archbishop who had sat in the chair of St. Augustine since the Reformation’—William Laud; and it was through Laud’s interest that Taylor received further opportunities for developing and displaying his genius.

How and when precisely Taylor came into immediate contact with Laud—‘the great encourager of learning, ingenuity and virtue; that great Judge and Patron of able men’—is not known. From the records of Lloyd and Rust, however, it is not difficult to construct the probable story of their meeting. Taylor’s remarkable ability was quickly communicated to Laud, who sent for the youthful genitius and invited him to preach at Lambeth. The effect of Taylor’s oratory on the Archbishop was as great as it had been on the congregations of St. Paul’s, but the Archbishop was not to be deceived by florid and impassioned eloquence; for while ‘observing the tartness of his discourse, the quickness of his Parts, the modesty and sweetness of his temper

¹ Dr. Donne

Rust, *Funeral Sermon*.

and the becomingness of his personage and carriage,'¹ yet he thought it 'for the advantage of the world, that such mighty parts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a course of constant preaching would allow of.'² Having tasted the fruits of popularity as a preacher Taylor naturally wished to remain at St. Paul's; but he was too young; in vain he pleaded with the shrewd Archbishop 'to pardon that fault and promised if he lived he would mend it.' Laud saw in Taylor a valuable acquisition to the cause he had so near at heart. The ecclesiastical atmosphere of Caius was inimical to the Laudian movement. Batchcroft was openly hostile and had reported a member of his college for teaching the necessity of confession to a priest. Hence it was not safe for Taylor to return to Cambridge; he must go to Oxford, where after a great struggle and vast benefactions, Laud had established his authority more securely.

Even so, however, it was not an easy matter for the Archbishop to transfer Taylor at once. Oxford was by no means submissive to all its Chancellor's demands. Laud therefore wisely decided to wait until a vacancy occurred which it would be profitable and advantageous for Taylor to fill. In the meanwhile Taylor deserted Cambridge. Batchcroft drops out of his life, and Laud becomes for a time the dominating personality. As chaplain to the Archbishop, Taylor most probably accompanied him on some of his visitations. There is a tradition, too, that he spent some time quietly studying at Maidley Hall near Tamworth, but the identification of this place is uncertain, and it is difficult to determine precisely where Taylor was until October 20, 1635, when he was incorporated M.A. at University College,

¹ Lloyd's *Memoirs*, p. 702.

² Rust, *Funeral Sermon*

Oxford, with a view to availing himself of a Fellowship Laud was anxious to secure for him. Rust says Laud placed him in his own college of All Souls; but this is obviously inaccurate since Laud's college was St. John's and he was only Visitor of All Souls. What actually happened is seen from a letter dated October 23, 1635, addressed to the Warden and' Fellows of All Souls, Oxford :—

These are on the behalf of an honest man and a good scholar : Mr. Osborn, being to give over his fellowship, was with me at Lambeth, and, I thank him, freely proffered me the nomination of a scholar to succeed in his place. Now having seriously deliberated with myself touching this business, and being willing to recommend such an one to you, as you might thank me for, I am resolved to pitch upon Mr. Jeremiah Taylour of whose abilitys and sufficiencys every ways I have received very good assurance. And I do hereby heartily pray you to give him all furtherance by yourself and the fellows at the next election, not doubting but that he will approve himself a worthy and learned member of your society. And tho' he has had his breeding for the most part in the other university, yet I hope that shall be no prejudice to him, in regard that he is incorporated into Oxford (*ut sit eodem ordine, gradu, etc.*) and admitted into University college. Neither can I learn that there is any thing in your local statutes against it. I doubt not but you will use him with so fair respects as befits a man of his rank and learning, for which I shall not fail to give you thanks. So I leave him to your kindness, and rest

Your loving friend
WILLIAM CANT.¹

Such was Laud's plan for the advancement of his young friend to a Fellowship at All Souls. But it was not so simple as it appeared; and perhaps Laud was overestimating his strength at All Souls. That the

¹ The letter is in the Tanner MSS., Bodleian Library, and is published in Bliss' Ed. of Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. iii, col. 782.

procedure he proposed to adopt was irregular seems unquestionable. According to Wood 'it was done against the statutes of the college in these two respects. First because he had exceeded the age, within which the said statutes make candidates capable of being elected, and secondly that he had not been of three years standing in the University of Oxford only a week or two before he was put in.' The Warden of All Souls at this time was Gilbert Sheldon, who strongly resisted what he regarded as an encroachment upon the rights of the University. Taylor was almost unanimously elected by the Fellows, but the Warden exercised his veto.¹ Nevertheless from the Register of All Souls it is clear that Taylor secured a probationary Fellowship on November 5, 1635, but did not obtain a perpetual Fellowship until the nomination fell to Laud as Visitor which it did on November 21, 1635, and Taylor's name appears among the actual and perpetual Fellows of All Souls on the following January 14.

Of Taylor's career at Oxford there is little to record, neither is it certain that he was regularly resident. Yet this period must be regarded as the most vital in tracing the development of his opinions. As chaplain to Laud his duties would draw him frequently to Lambeth, where the Archbishop would have ample opportunity of observing and directing his theological studies. During this period it seems most probable Taylor embraced his clear-cut views on episcopacy, the divine right of kings and the reality of the sacraments. It was now too that he read deeply in the Fathers and School men and was thus 'enabled to write casuistically.' Some light is thrown upon Taylor's mental development at this time,

¹ Vide *Life and Times of Gilbert Sheldon*, Vernon Staley, pp. 33-4.

in a letter written by William Chillingworth, who in the second year of Taylor's residence at Oxford produced the *Religion of Protestants*. While recognizing Taylor's 'sufficiencie,' Chillingworth complains that 'he wants much of the ethical part of a discouser, and slighteth too much many times the arguments of those he discourses with: but this is a fault he would quickly leave, if he had a friend that would discreetly tell him of it.'¹

Chillingworth, like Taylor, was under a debt of gratitude to Laud, for the future Archbishop had come to his rescue when in controversy with the Jesuit Fisher and won him back from Rome. The Jesuits still maintained a vigorous propaganda in the University, and were not slow to turn to their own advantage, as they thought, the doctrinal and disciplinary reforms which the Archbishop was enforcing. It would be ridiculous to accuse Laud of 'romanizing', yet he was always suspected and for a time some suspicion was attached to Taylor himself. While at Oxford he made the acquaintance of Francis à S. Clara, a Jesuit, and if Wood is to be believed, 'was in a ready way to be confirmed a member of the Church of Rome.' Francis à S. Clara, whose real name was Christopher Davenport,² exercised a considerable influence among the younger members of the University, but whatever attempts he made to

¹ Des Maizeaux, *Life and Writings of William Chillingworth*, pp. 49-51.

² For S. Clara's remarkable career *vide* Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, iii, col. 1221. He was a voluminous writer, his most famous works being *Deus, Natura, Gratia*, 1634, and *Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanae*, 1646. The latter was edited by F. G. Lee (1865) with a life of the Author. It is an ingenious attempt to reconcile the XXXIX Articles with the opinions of the rest of Western Christendom, and is thought by some to have formed the basis of Newman's *Tract 90*.

convert Taylor did not succeed, and he was driven to invent excuses for his failure.

Meanwhile events were moving rapidly in both the Church and nation. Laud continued to pursue his own path with indomitable courage, purging the Church of Puritanism and surrounding himself with prelates of his own school. Laud in the Church, Charles and Wentworth in the State reigned supreme; but the low murmurings of coming disaster were already only too clear and awful; but before the great tragedy of civil war befel the nation, Taylor was to find happiness as a country rector.

Laud read the character of his young protégé with exact precision. A Fellowship at All Souls was valuable in assisting Taylor to continue his studies on the lines most agreeable to Laud; but it was no part of the Archbishop's plan that Taylor should devote all his energies to academic affairs. He must be brought into touch with the souls of men; for the Archbishop discerned that Taylor was temperamentally and spiritually fitted to become a wise and loving director of souls.

The remarkable appeal which Taylor's writings have made to innumerable readers is not due to any unimpeachable logic he employs, but to his intimacy with human nature in all its beauty and weakness. He understood, as few can hope to understand, the most secret workings of the mind; the temptations, failures and successes which characterize human activity. Fortunately for the world Taylor was not destined to high preferment at the University. He was to live his life 'among the crowd'; and he brings to the reader all the rich experience of his adventures.

Laud had most probably been waiting his opportunity to secure a living for Taylor where he could utilize his

unique gifts to the full. The resignation of the rector of Uppingham left vacant a benefice which through Laud's influence, Juxon, Bishop of London, the patron, offered to Taylor; and on March 23, 1638, he was instituted by Francis Dee, Bishop of Peterborough. Edward Martin, Taylor's predecessor at Uppingham, was a loyal supporter of the Laudian movement, and when President of Queen's College, Oxford, had incurred the violent displeasure of the Puritans. Taylor's appointment as successor to Martin makes it clear that he was now definitely numbered among the zealous adherents of Laud's party in the Church and the Royalist cause in the nation. Upon his arrival at Uppingham Taylor found the parish in the care of Peter Hausted, a dramatist of some ingenuity, who had been curate of Uppingham for some six years.

Thus at the early age of twenty-five Taylor entered upon his duties as a parish priest. He was certainly well equipped for his task; for, in addition to his theological learning, he had gained considerable experience as a preacher, and his loving disposition was certain to endear him to his flock. Information regarding his career at Uppingham is scanty enough, but the advice he was afterwards able to give to those in the ministry shows that he had qualified himself to speak on such matters. The small country town of Uppingham would provide Taylor with ample opportunities, both in his pastoral visits and in his preaching, of instructing the simple folk in the saving truths of the Gospel. Keen Laudian as Martin was, he had been non-resident, and Hausted had not given the parish his undivided attention. Hence there was abundant need of teaching the Catholic Faith as Taylor understood it.

The flock at Uppingham had been sadly neglected. At once Taylor sought to mend matters; he was only too familiar with the slovenliness of parish churches; this he had learned as chaplain to Laud. Now was his opportunity of having all things done 'decently and in order' in his own parish church. As far as the scanty information goes, it appears that he refurnished the church with the 'ornaments'¹ necessary for the proper administration of divine service. New communion vessels were used, perhaps a gift from Taylor's friends, comprising 'a chalice with a cover silver and gilt; two patins silver and gilt; two pewter flaggons; one diaper napkin for a Corporall.' For the adornment of the altar there were introduced 'one alter cloth of Greene silke damaske; and two alter cloths of diaper.' 'One long cussion of crimson velvit, lined with crimson searge with four greate tassells of crimson silke,' was probably intended for the pulpit, while 'one short cussion of the same' would find its resting-place upon the holy table. All these articles were dedicated by John Towers,² Bishop of Peterborough for the church at Uppingham, and there were added a Bible, a Book of Common Prayer, 'one tippit of taffety sarcenit; one surplice; and two blacke hoods of searge lined with taffety sarcenit.' A letter from the Bishop of Peterborough gave instructions to Taylor to erect an organ. This was accordingly built, but there was difficulty in providing a stipend for the organist.

There is a story told of Taylor while at Uppingham, which illustrates the ecclesiastical atmosphere of his home. The wife of Edward Turner, the parson of

¹ Uppingham Parish Books. See Appendix III B.

² Towers became Bishop in 1639. See Appendix III.

Little Dalby in Leicestershire, to the great grief of her husband became a Romanist. Before embracing the Roman Faith, however, she consulted Taylor at Uppingham who enjoined her penance. She told her son Edward that upon this occasion she saw in Taylor's study 'a little altar with a crucifix upon it.'¹

On November 5, 1638, Taylor preached the sermon in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, upon the anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason, and in the following May he was married to Phoebe Langsdale. It seems highly probable that Edward Langsdale her brother, a doctor of some repute, was the Langsdale who had been a pupil at the Perse School and afterwards one of Taylor's pupils at Caius, where Taylor may have met his future bride. Her father was Gervase Langsdale who, when Edward entered Caius in 1633, was described as 'generosus', i.e. a gentleman. Phoebe would therefore appear to have belonged to the upper middle classes, and may have been living at Holborn, London—where her brother was born,—when Taylor was preaching at St. Paul's near by; and it is just possible that Taylor then renewed his acquaintance with her. The joys of married life, however, were to be short-lived; tragedy, both national and domestic, was very near at hand; and Taylor became a wanderer whose whereabouts are extremely difficult to trace.

Within a year of Taylor's marriage the King, owing to want of money, had been compelled to summon a Parliament which was quickly dissolved; but the full torrent of passion and discontent was to find angry expression in the Long Parliament which assembled on

¹ *Autobiography of Henry Newcome, M.A.*, published by the Chetham Society, 1852, ii, 312.

November 3, 1640. It was foreseen that once a Parliament assembled, the policy of prerogative government would be attacked ; absolutism would be tested by the growing powers of democracy ; and Parliament would call to strict account the triumvirate who had so far escaped the vengeance of an angry people. Yet, as in his early Parliaments, there was a deep inherent loyalty to the King who, it was thought, was not directly responsible for the misgovernment of the country. Laud, Wentworth and the bishops must be dealt with first. Petitions began to pour in from all parts of the country bitterly complaining of the alleged tyranny of the bishops. In December 1640 came a request signed by fifteen thousand citizens of London—the stronghold of Puritanism—praying for the abolition of episcopacy root and branch. In the following March Laud was committed to the Tower ; and the work he had so zealously undertaken for the reform of the Church of England was rapidly undone by the House of Commons.

What was the effect of these revolutionary proceedings upon the fortunes of Taylor ? He remained, it appears, at Uppingham until the early summer of 1642. The parish vestry book shows his attendance at the annual Easter meetings, and the appointment of churchwardens is recorded in his hand until 1642 ; and as late as May in that year his youngest son William, probably named after Laud, and described as the son of Jeremiah Taylor, rector, and Phoebe, his wife, is recorded as buried at Uppingham.

Parliament, having virtually abolished episcopacy and excluded bishops from the House of Lords, next decided to eject 'all scandalous ministers',—those who supported the Laudian party in the Church and Charles in the State ; but it was not until 1643 that there was a general

sequestration of delinquents' estates. Taylor may have anticipated his fate and left Uppingham before the Parliamentarians arrived to eject him; but, however that may be, he appears to have been among the first to rally to the King's side, as a chaplain in the Royalist army, when Charles unfurled his banner at Nottingham on August 22, 1642. From Nottingham he followed the King to Oxford, and frequently preached before the Court. At the end of the year appeared his first work, *Episcopacy Asserted*, which will be considered in due course.

Early in 1643 Taylor was presented by the King to the sinecure of Overstone, most probably through the influence of the Earl and Countess of Northampton, but his stay there was only of short duration. Meanwhile the rectory of Uppingham had been sequestered,¹ and the parish had fallen on evil days. It appears from the fact that Taylor received no pension, that Uppingham was not provided with a regular incumbent, and the parish register points to the same conclusion. There is no choice of church officers recorded from the year 1642 until April 20, 1652, when a churchwarden was appointed by Daniel Swift styling himself 'Pastor de Uppingham'. There is then an interval of nine years without any signature until Easter 1661 when John Allington became rector. Part of the revenue of the parish was probably used to provide a stipend for a 'lecturer' who would do occasional duty. What sort of person exercised the sacred ministry in the place of Taylor, is seen from the following notice in the *Mercurius Aulicus* under date May 6, 1644:

This Massey, at a Communion this last Easter, having consecrated the bread after his manner, laid one hand upon

¹ Early in May, 1644.

the chalice, and, smiting his breast with the other, said to the parishioners, 'As I am a faithful sinner, neighbours, this is my morning draught,' and turning himself round to them, said, ' Neighbours, here's to ye all,' and so drank off the whole cupful, which is none of the least. Many of the parish were hereby scandalised, and therefore departed without receiving the Sacrament. Among which, one old man, seeing Massey drink after this manner, said aloud, ' Sir, much good do it you ! ' Whereupon Massey replied, ' Thou blessest with thy tongue, and cursest with thy heart ; but 'tis no matter, for God will bless whom thou cursest.'

This Massey, coming lately into a house of the town, used these words : ' This town of Uppingham loves Popery, and we would reform it, but they will not,' and, without any further coherence, said, ' but I say, whosoever says there is any king in England besides the Parliament at Westminster, I'll make him from ever speaking more.' The master of the house replied, ' I say there is a king in England besides the Parliament at Westminster,' whereupon Massey, with his cudgel broke the gentleman's head.

This is indeed a revolting story, and perhaps it should be received with some caution as the newspaper was issued at Oxford by Sir John Birkenhead, a Royalist who was known to Taylor and mentioned by him in a letter to Evelyn. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt the main points in the story which seem to indicate that while at Uppingham Taylor had at least instructed his flock in reverence to the Blessed Sacrament and in the first principles of loyalty. If this Isaac Massey were the brother of Colonel Massey notorious for his sacrilegious proceedings at Gloucester, there is little difficulty in accepting the story as it stands. Taylor doubtless heard at Oxford of his unworthy successor, with a sorrowful heart ; yet the fact that the intruder's blasphemy did not pass uncondemned must have convinced him that his labours at Uppingham had not been entirely in vain.

The year 1644 was disastrous to the Royalist cause. With the defeat at Marston Moor the King's prospects of success in the north were shattered. This year too witnessed the death of Chillingworth who was conveyed a prisoner from Arundel to Chichester where he died, taunted even on his dying bed by the Puritan divine Francis Cheynell. Before long Taylor himself was to feel the full force of the misfortunes which were swiftly crushing down the Royalist cause. Wood says he remained at Oxford, preaching before the King and Court, until the decline of the King's cause, when he retired to the Golden Grove. Heber suggests that he was drawn to Wales through his affection for a lady who became his second wife—Joanna Bridges. If, however, Taylor had already formed an acquaintance with this lady, then it must be assumed that Phoebe Langsdale had died at Uppingham, and that Taylor was thrice married, as he states in a letter to Dugdale in 1651 that he has recently buried his 'dear wife.' It seems more natural to suppose that he is referring to his first wife, who after leaving Uppingham had been living with her relations in London. The reason for Taylor's departure from Oxford is more easily accounted for by the friendship he had formed with Richard Vaughan, the second Earl of Carbery, whom Taylor may have met at Oxford. At the outbreak of war Carbery had been appointed Lieutenant-General of the Royalist armies in the counties of Carmarthen, Cardigan and Pembroke. After defeating Major-General Rowland Laugharne he resigned his command in favour of Gerard, and ceased to take any active part in the wars. Taylor, it seems, had been invited to Wales by Carbery, but in making his way to the Golden Grove, he found Gerard laying siege to Cardigan Castle and offered his

services as a chaplain to the Royalist army. The Castle was held for the Parliamentarians by Colonel Poole, but by strategy Gerard succeeded in getting into the town and cut down the bridges so that it could not be relieved. Gerard then sent a summons to the Castle demanding its surrender or no quarter would be granted. Colonel Poole, however, was in no mood to give up so tamely. The full story of what subsequently happened is recorded in Whitelocke's *Memorials of English Affairs*¹ to which the reader is referred. Gerard's forces were totally routed, two hundred were slain, much field ordnance captured and one hundred and fifty prisoners 'whereof were Major Slaughter, divers inferior officers, and Dr. Taylor.'

There can be little doubt that this was Jeremy Taylor ; but thanks to Carbery's influence and the subsequent defeat of the Parliamentarians Taylor was not a prisoner for long ; and if the Preface to the *Liberty of Prophecying* refers to this event he was kindly treated 'by a noble enemy'. After his release Taylor probably followed the Royalist army and may have witnessed the King's forces routed at Naseby. The year 1645 not only marked the downfall of the Royalist cause, but it witnessed the murder of Taylor's friend the great Archbishop.

Fortunately for Taylor he found a ready protector in Carbery, during the years of ecclesiastical and civil anarchy which followed the Archbishop's death ; and in his quiet retreat at the Golden Grove near Llanfihangel in Carmarthenshire he was able to give his strength to the pursuit of literary work. In order to augment the stipend he received as chaplain to Lord Carbery, he

¹ p. 130.

joined Nicholson¹ and Wyat² in their school at Newton Hall where several youths were prepared for the University, one of whom, John Powell, subsequently took an honourable part in the trial of the Seven Bishops. In 1647 there was issued conjointly by Wyat and Taylor *A New and Easy Institution of Grammar*, in which Wyat had the larger share. In the same year appeared the *Liberty of Prophesying*.

According to the Jones's manuscripts already referred to, Taylor was with Charles during his last hours. The King had been imprisoned in 1647 but by a special concession his chaplains had free access to him. The story has it that Taylor received from the King 'in token of his regard, his watch, and a few pearls and rubies which had ornamented the ebony case in which he kept his Bible.' If Taylor went up to London on a visit to his friends he may possibly have seen the King then imprisoned at Putney; but at the best it is mere conjecture.

From 1650 to 1653 Taylor was in retirement at the Golden Grove, and it was during this period that he produced his finest works. The extreme beauty of his surroundings is reflected in his writings. In 1650 appeared *Holy Living* and soon afterwards two volumes of sermons preached at the Golden Grove. *Holy Dying*, which from a literary point of view is much in advance of its companion volume, was published in 1651.

The year 1653 finds Taylor leaving his retirement at the Golden Grove and frequently going up to London where he formed a friendship with John Evelyn the distinguished scientist. His home was at Sayes Court

¹ At the Restoration appointed Bishop of Gloucester.

² 1668 Precentor of Lincoln Cathedral.

where 'Mr. Owen the sequestered Divine of Eltham' ministered to him. Evelyn's *Diary* is of great value to the biographer of Taylor. Under date April 15, 1654, there is this entry:—

I went to London to heare the famous Doctor Jeremy Taylor (since Bishop of Downe and Connor) at St. Greg; on 6 Matt. 48, concerning evangelical perfection.

From a letter sent by Evelyn to Taylor the month before, in which he thanks Taylor for the consolation he has received from his sermons, it appears that Taylor had again been imprisoned. The cause of this imprisonment was the publication of the *Golden Grove* which probably aroused the anger of the Puritans. His imprisonment, however, was of short duration and he was aided financially by Evelyn who made him his confessor.

In 1655 appeared the *Unum Necessarium*, and Taylor in returning from London to Wales was arrested on the road and thrown into Chepstow Castle. Upon his release he went to the home of Mrs. Joanna Bridges at Mandinam, whom Heber thinks Taylor married within a year or so of the decease of Phoebe Langsdale. It is impossible to fix the date of his second marriage. It is commonly stated that Joanna Bridges was a natural daughter of Charles I, when Prince of Wales, and under the evil influence of Buckingham, but this relies upon the doubtful Jones's manuscripts.

Taylor's best friend during this period of anxiety and poverty was Evelyn; but it is interesting to notice that Sheldon too was now his friend and Taylor thanks him for gifts of money. Glimpses of Taylor are caught in Evelyn's *Diary*;—thus on one occasion he was invited to dine at Sayes Court in the distinguished company of Boyle, Berkeley and Wilkins; but these happy episodes

were few and far between. Taylor was very tired of his life in Wales; small-pox broke out at Mandinam and in the course of a few months he lost three children. After Easter 1657 he left Wales, not being able to remain there any longer, associated as it was with the loss of his children. He therefore went to London and ministered to the loyal Church people who maintained their worship at considerable personal danger.

In 1657 Taylor was incarcerated in the Tower of London, for which indignity he had to thank the indiscretion of Royston, his publisher, who had placed at the beginning of the *Collection of Offices* a picture of Christ in the attitude of prayer. Through the good services of Evelyn he was again released, and the Royalists to whom he ministered relieved his financial anxiety by making him an annual allowance.

The scene of Taylor's labours was soon to change. A suggestion was made to Evelyn apparently by the Earl of Conway, who was anxious to strengthen the Episcopal Church in Ireland, that Taylor should go to Portmore in the north-east of Ireland where Conway had ample estates and wielded a far-reaching influence. Taylor's duties were to consist of a weekly lecture at Lisburn, a town some eight miles distant from Portmore. At first he declined the appointment; the stipend was too small and if he accepted the offer he would find himself under 'the dispose of another,' a Presbyterian vicar. These difficulties were however overcome partly through the good services of Dr. Petty, the famous statistician, and in June 1658 Taylor appears to have left London for Portmore. He was heartily commended to the chief officials of Ireland and received a pass under the sign manual and privy seal of Cromwell. Judging from the tone of his letters to Evelyn, Taylor for a time

appears to have been happy in his work and new surroundings. As early, however as June 1659 Taylor expresses some fear that his 'peace in Ireland' was likely to be short. A Presbyterian 'and a madman' named Tandy had denounced him for using the sign of the cross in baptism, and Taylor was summoned to Dublin Castle. Although his friends were able to secure his speedy release, the journey to Dublin 'in the worst of our winter weather,' seriously impaired his health and he longed to return to England. The time, however, when he should receive some recognition of his labours on behalf of the Church was nearer than he thought.

In April 1660 he was on a visit to London, in order, most probably, to give a last glance at his *Cases of Conscience* then in the printer's hands; but his journey was fraught with consequences far greater than he could have anticipated, for in attaching his name to the declaration of the loyalists who on April 24 expressed their confidence in the wisdom and justice of Monk,¹ Taylor was brought under the immediate notice of Charles II and on October 6, was nominated to the Bishopric of Down and Connor, and shortly afterwards on the recommendation of Ormond was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

On January 27, 1661, Taylor was consecrated Bishop in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, along with eleven others including two Metropolitans, and he had the honour of preaching the sermon, which gave 'great and general satisfaction, so elegantly, religiously, and prudently was it composed, and so convincing to the judgments of those who opposed the order and jurisdiction

¹ The Declaration is given in *Kennet's Register*, p. 121.

of episcopacy.' A special anthem composed by Dr. Fuller, Dean of St. Patrick's, heightened the dignity and solemnity of the service; and the ceremony, performed in the presence of a vast and representative congregation, 'was conducted without any confusion or the least clamour heard.'

Nevertheless there can be little doubt that the appointment of Taylor to an Irish See was a mistake; his clear-cut views on episcopacy were not likely to commend him to the diocese of Down and Connor infested as it was with the most virulent and clamorous of the sectaries. One who had laboured so valiantly and suffered so patiently for the Church he believed in and loved, might surely have been offered a See in his native land; perhaps however, the *Unum Necessarium* was the stumbling-block. Before remarking further on his episcopate the great work he did for the University of Dublin should be observed.

When Taylor became Vice-Chancellor, the University was in a state of disorder; none of the members had legal title to the offices they held. Taylor proposed that the committee appointed for the reform of the University should elect seven senior fellows in order to put the academic status of the University upon a proper basis.¹ Ormond, however, preferred to keep the appointments in his own hands allowing the Vice-Chancellor and the Primate to recommend five persons who might by royal authority be made fellows; this enabled Taylor to secure fellowships for three of his friends—Dr. Stearne, Joshua Cowley, and Patrick Sheridan. This good beginning having been made, Taylor

¹ See article 'Two Letters of Jeremy Taylor' by H. J. Lawlor, *Church of Ireland Gazette*, June 14, 1901.

proceeded to remodel the statutes, and revised the conditions for granting degrees, and for the appointment to public lectureships ;—in short he laid the foundation of the work which has ever since distinguished the University.

His episcopate, on the other hand, was in many respects a failure. It could hardly have been otherwise. A staunch believer in the divine right of episcopacy, he had to administer a diocese notorious for its contempt of ‘prelacy’ even in the most modified form. In a letter to Ormond, dated December 16, 1660,¹ Taylor gives a graphic, if melancholy, description of the diocese to which he had been nominated Bishop. His first impressions were far from encouraging ; indeed it was ‘a place of torment.’ The nobility and gentry, with one exception, received him with kindness; but the ‘ministers’ preached vigorously and constantly against episcopacy and the liturgy. They defied them both publicly ; they spoke of resisting unto blood and stirred up the people to sedition.

‘My Lord,’ writes Taylor in this letter, ‘I have invited them to a friendly conference, desired earnestly to speak with them, went to them, sent some of their own to invite them, offered to satisfy them in anything that was reasonable. I preach every Sunday amongst them, somewhere or other ; I have courted them with most friendly offers, did all things in pursuance of his Majesty’s most gracious declaration ; but they refuse to speak with me ; they have newly covenanted to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons.’

¹ Carte MSS.

In the same letter Taylor says they threatened to murder him, and he pleads that it were better for him to be 'a poor curate in a village church than a bishop over such intolerable persons.' He implores that he may be assisted by the 'secular arm,' and concludes his letter with a summary of their 'seditious' and 'ridiculous' opinions.

His first visitation in March, 1661, makes it clear that he had not exaggerated the difficulties that confronted him.¹ When he arrived in his diocese, he discovered that the Presbyterians had sent delegates to Dublin with a petition to the Justices, urging that they might be 'free of the yoke of prelacy, etc.' Taylor therefore postponed his visitation until they returned and then summoned them all to meet him at Lisnegarvy. A few days, however, before the summons was received, many of the Presbyterians were present at the funeral of Lady Clotworthy, the mother of Lord Massereene, their chief supporter, and they pleaded they had not time to decide whether to accept the Bishop's invitation or no. They therefore sent three of their number to Taylor at Hillsborough the day before the visitation, informing him that while they could not appear in answer to the summons, as that would suggest they were prepared to submit to episcopal jurisdiction, they were willing to confer with him in private, and although 'they were dissenters from the present church government and modes of worship, yet they were the King's true subjects.' Taylor desired that they should give in on paper what they had to say; and upon their refusal to do this, he asked them definitely whether they held the Presbyterian form of government to

¹ *Vide* Patrick Adair's *True Narrative*, 1866, Ed. Killen, pp. 245-51.

be *jure divino*. They answered in the positive, and further stated that, if questions of this nature were to arise at the visitation, it were better for them not to appear; to which Taylor answered that if they made 'profession contrary to law in the visitation they would smart for it.' It was perfectly evident that no agreement could be arrived at, and after a futile discussion on the oath of supremacy, the Presbyterians returned to their brethren at Lisnegarvy, where after giving an account of their discussion with the Bishop, finding themselves in a 'hard taking' they 'encouraged one another to fidelity and steadfastness.'

The next day was the Bishop's visitation at Lisnegarvy; only two of the Presbyterians appeared. Later in the same day three of them were sent to enquire whether Taylor would confer with them in private. The Bishop was furious and accused them of 'contempt'; nevertheless 'some few of the brethren' he conferred with in private, 'to engage them to conformity and gave them great offers of kindness and preferment; but he obtained not his purposes.'

Having thus failed to win the allegiance of the Presbyterians, Taylor declared thirty-six of their parishes vacant and filled them with English clergymen—ignorant of the Irish tongue—among whom was George Rust, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who became Dean of Connor, and Taylor's successor as Bishop.¹ For some time the wretched work of ejection

¹ Rust was ordained deacon and priest May 7, 1661. August 3 of same year he became Dean of Connor. December 15, 1667, Bishop of Dromore.

Other clergy introduced by Taylor were—

(1) Thomas Bayly, had been Chaplain of Christ Church, Oxford, but rejected by the Parliamentarians. 'Dr. Jeremy Taylor,

and refilling, from a 'foreign' source, went apace until the episcopal mode of worship was established. Words cannot adequately express the extreme indignation with which many Irish Presbyterians regard his 'persecution' of their forefathers. It is a chapter in Taylor's life, which though it must be written, one would heartily wish could be forgotten in these happier days of mutual forbearance and wider sympathies. It is unquestionably true that 'had Jeremy Taylor been removed from this world before he reached the Episcopal throne, he would have left behind him a far more savoury reputation.'¹

In February, 1661, Taylor had been made a member of the Irish Privy Council, and in the following June he was appointed 'administrator' of the Diocese of Dromore, on account of his 'virtue, wisdom and industry.' He found the Diocese of Dromore practically bankrupt, and it was due to his great energy that the finances were put upon a sound basis; but he frequently lost hope and when Leslie, the Bishop of Meath, died, he

knowing his abilities and learning, brought him over to Ireland, and maintained him in studious refinement until the restoration of the King.' He graduated D.D. at Dublin and for a short time was Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University. February 13, 1661-2, Dean of Down. May 1663, Archdeacon of Connor. March 1664, Bishop of Killala. Cotton's *Fasti Ecclesiae Hibernicae*, 1860, iii, 225-6.

(2) *Lemuel Mathews*, D.D., native of Wales, became chaplain to Taylor. 1674 Archdeacon of Down. He left behind him *A Pindarique Elegy upon the Death of Bishop Jeremy Taylor*. *Ibid.*, iii, 231.

John McNeale, Dean of Down, 1683, was ordained by Taylor; so was *William Milne*, a Presbyterian minister, who after the Restoration conformed to the Established Church. He appears to have led a disreputable life. *Ibid.*, v, 246.

¹ Introduction *True Narrative*, p. 31.

asked to be translated to the vacant see, but the appointment fell to the Bishop of Clogher.

Those interested in spiritualism and apparitions will find much entertaining matter in Glanvill's *Sadducismus triumphatus*,¹ in which the writer defends the belief in witches, spirits and apparitions. One case, Relation 26,² was brought before Taylor for examination. A certain Francis Taverner, 'a lusty proper stout fellow,' a servant to the Earl of Donegal, was startled by the apparition of a man named James Haddock who had been dead five years. According to the account, preserved by Thomas Alcock³ Taylor's secretary, the apparition commanded Taverner to go to Elenor Welsh, 'formerly the wife of the said James Haddock' but 'now the wife of Davis living at Malone,' and tell her that her son should be righted in the matter of a lease, from which he had been deprived by his stepfather. After many terrifying experiences Taverner went to Davis's house 'where the woman being desired to come to them, he did effectually do his message, by telling her that he could not be at quiet for the ghost of her former husband James Haddock, who threatened to tear him in pieces if he did not tell her she must right John Haddock, her son by him, in a lease wherein she and Davis her now husband had wronged him. . . .'

'The day following, Dr. Jeremie Taylor, Bishop of Down, Connor and Dromore, was to go to keep court at Dromore, and commanded me, who was then secretary to him, to write for Taverner to meet him there, which

¹ Glanvill was Chaplain in ordinary to Charles II, and a Fellow of the Royal Society.

² pp. 382-7.

³ It is a coincidence that the man who read the Liturgy in English at Hadley after Dr. Rowland Taylor was thrust out was also named Alcock.

he did. And there in the presence of many he examined Taverner strictly in this strange scene of Providence, as my lord stil'd it ; and by the account given him both by Taverner, and others who knew Taverner, and much of the former particulars, his lordship was satisfied that the apparition was true and real ; but said no more there to him, because at Hilbrough, three miles from thence on his way home, my lord was informed that my lady Conway and other persons of quality were coming purposely to hear his lordship examine the matter. So Taverner went with us to Hilbrough ; and there, to satisfy the curiosity of the fresh company, after asking many things anew, and some over again, my lord advised him, the next time the spirit appeared, to ask him these questions : " Whence are you ? are you a good or a bad spirit ? where is your abode ? what station do you hold ? how are you regimented in the other world ? and what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your son in so small a matter, when so many widows and orphans are oppressed in the world, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their relations appear, as you do, to right them " ? These were eminently sane questions, and when the spirit next appeared Taverner challenged it with them. The effect indeed was marvellous. ' It gave him no answer, but crawled on its hands and feet over the wall again, and so vanisht in white, with a most melodious harmony ' !

Apart from stories of this character very little is known of Taylor's private or domestic life in Ireland. He made his home at Hillsborough but research has shown that he also resided at Homra House some two miles distant. His English friends soon forgot him ; his correspondence with Evelyn, Hatton and Thurland ceased.

It is remarkable that, in spite of the great pressure of his episcopal duties, his many anxieties and afflictions, Taylor's pen was never inactive, as a glance at his list of works will show. His most important theological writing, while Bishop, was *A Dissuasive from Popery*, the first part of which appeared in 1664. In a letter to Sheldon written at this time, Taylor implored to be translated to an English bishopric, but without success; for it would appear that his association with Sir Richard Kennedy, a Judge of Assize, who had used coercive measures in Ulster, brought him into disgrace at Court, the King having been informed that the Presbyterians were persecuted because of their loyalty to him. Any hopes that Taylor may have entertained of securing an English see were thus dashed to the ground. He was to die in Ireland. His constitution was severely impaired, and his last years were full of sorrows; one of his sons fell in a duel, while another, intended for the ministry, died at the house of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. On August 3, 1667, Taylor was attacked by a fever at Lisburn from which he died ten days later at the age of fifty-four. 'Bury me at Dromore,' were his last words. He was buried in the choir of the church of Dromore which he had rebuilt at his own expense. By his will¹ he bequeathed to the parishes of Dromore, Lisburn and Ballintobber £10 each for distribution among the poor. The revenues of his see must have been considerable, but with the exception of 'moderate portions' to his three daughters, he spent all his income on alms and public works.

There are few lives that stir more deeply the emotions than that of Taylor; with the exception of his peaceful

¹ *The History and Antiquities of Ireland*, 1764, Ed. Harris, i, 210.

retreat at the Golden Grove, it is one long record of domestic affliction, hardship, and persecution ; misunderstood even by his friends, neglected by the Church he served so loyally, his death was barely noticed in the country of his birth. George Rust, however, his successor in the see of Dromore, preached a noble sermon at the funeral obsequies, and has put every lover of Taylor under a great debt of gratitude for the picture he has given of Taylor's person, character and abilities.

Nature had befriended him much in his constitution ; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humour, of great candour and ingenuity ; and there was so much of salt and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address, in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon. His soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reason, but all his words, and his very tone and cadencies, were strangely musical.

But that which did most of all captivate and enrapish was the gaiety and richness of fancy ; for he had much in him of that natural enthusiasm that inspires all great poets and orators ; and there was a generous ferment in his blood and spirits that set his fancy bravely a work, and made it swell, and teem, and become pregnant to such degrees of luxuriancy, as nothing but the greatness of his wit and judgment could have kept it within due bounds and measures.

And now you will easily believe that an ordinary diligence would be able to make great improvements upon such a stock of parts and endowments ; but to these advantages of nature, and excellency of his spirit, he added an indefatigable industry, and God gave a plentiful benediction : for, there were very few kinds of learning but he was a *mystes* and a great master in them. He was a rare humanist, and hugely versed in all the polite parts of learning ; and had throughly concocted all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman, poets and orators ; and was not unacquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, whether French or Italian.

To sum up all in a few words ; — This great prelate he had

the good humour of a gentleman, the eloquence of an orator, the fancy of a poet, the acuteness of a school-man, the profoundness of a philosopher, the wisdom of a counsellor, the sagacity of a prophet, the reason of an angel, and the piety of a saint. He had devotion enough for a cloister, learning enough for an university, and wit enough for a college of *virtuosi*; and had his parts and endowments been parcelled out among his poor clergy that he left behind him, it would perhaps have made one of the best dioceses in the world.¹

Granger (*Biographical History of England*, III. 254) has the following note on Taylor:

'This excellent prelate was not only one of the greatest divines that flourished in the seventeenth century, but was also one of the completest characters of his age. His person was uncommonly beautiful, his manners polite, his conversation sprightly and engaging, and his voice harmonious. He united, in a high degree, the powers of invention, memory, and judgement; his learning was various, almost universal; and his piety was as unaffected as it was extraordinary.'

¹ Funeral Sermon, *Taylor's Works*, i, cccxxiv-vii.

CHAPTER II

EPISCOPACY ASSERTED

TAYLOR'S first important work was his treatise of *Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Arians, new and old*,¹ which appeared in 1642, soon after the King's retirement to Oxford.

When the Long Parliament assembled on November 3, 1640, a spirit of bitter animosity towards the bishops soon found angry expression. At first, however, it was not so much the nature of their sacred office, but their alleged tyranny, that was made the subject of enquiry. If Clarendon is to be believed, the members of the Long Parliament were almost to a man in favour of episcopal government and had no intention of making violent changes in the Church. What was advocated, at least by the more moderate members, was not the abolition but the reformation of the episcopate. This view was clearly expressed in a speech by Lord Falkland on February 9, 1641, in which while he does not hesitate to attack the oppression and 'sacerdotalism' of some bishops, he regards with entire disapproval the suggestion then made, of abolishing an order that had existed from 'Christ to Calvin'. The 'root and branch' party, however, soon came into greater prominence and as early as May 1641 a Bill for the Abolition of Episcopacy was introduced. It was not, it is true, until October 9, 1646 that the ancient hierarchy of the Church

¹ *Taylor's Works*, vol. v. References throughout are to Heber's edition of *Taylor's Works* revised by Eden, 1847-52.

was for a time extinguished, but with the assembly of the Long Parliament, the bishops entered upon their fiery trial—Laud having already been committed to the Tower, when Taylor wrote his defence of the episcopal order.

Many pens were busily engaged in attack and defence of the ancient form of Church government, for which episcopacy stood. Hall's *Humble Remonstrance* led to the 'Smectymnuus' controversy, in which Milton and Ussher both figured prominently, and episcopacy became a favourite subject of the many pamphleteers. Taylor's work was therefore only one of many, which the Puritan attacks had called forth. Nevertheless *Episcopacy Asserted* deserves a first place in the literature upon the subject; it would be difficult to imagine a treatise more dogmatic in assertion, or definite and clear-cut in its conclusions. Whatever may be said of Taylor's 'manniness' in writing the *Liberty of Prophecying*, when his Church stood most in need of toleration, his vigorous and courageous defence of episcopacy, just at the moment when prelacy had become the storm centre of a violent controversy, commands admiration even on the part of those, and they are many, who are not able to accept in its entirety the line of argument he advances.

As the work now appears it has two dedicatory letters both addressed to Christopher Lord Hatton, who had become Taylor's patron.¹ The first written in 1657 was

¹ Hatton at this time was Taylor's one true friend. He had been educated at Cambridge, where perhaps Taylor first made his acquaintance. He was a man of wealth and encouraged Dugdale in his researches. Taylor speaks very highly of him in the dedicatory letters; but doubtless there is a good deal of flattery. In the dedication to the *Great Exemplar* Taylor asks Hatton to account him in the number of his 'relatives', which led Heber to conjecture that Taylor was actually related to him; but

originally prefixed to a *Collection of Polemical and Moral Discourses*, in which both *Episcopacy Asserted* and the *Liberty of Prophesying* were included. In it he answers the objection that whereas *Episcopacy Asserted* relies largely upon the authority of Fathers and Councils, in the *Liberty of Prophesying* he proves that their decisions are not conclusive; and therefore it would seem pulls down with one hand what he builds with the other. But he pleads his adversaries are mistaken:—

For episcopacy relies, not upon the authority of fathers and councils, but upon scripture, upon the institution of Christ or the institution of the apostles, upon an universal tradition and an universal practice, not upon the words and opinions of the doctors.¹

In the second dedicatory letter Taylor argues that episcopacy and monarchy are from their very nature mutually dependent; each contributes to the stability and well-being of the other. Thus the bishop naturally looks to his Sovereign for preservation and preferment, for which royal favours the King is amply repaid in tribute and advice. ‘A three-fold cord’ ties bishops in duty to their King. A reading of this letter alone, makes it quite clear that in Taylor’s judgement episcopacy and monarchy stand or fall together; and it is not difficult to understand why King Charles issued a Royal Letter to the University of Oxford to bestow upon this champion of Divine Right the degree of Doctor of Divinity; for his defence of episcopacy was also inferentially a vindication of kingly prerogative.

the term ‘relative’ as then used, did not imply necessarily blood relationship. Clarendon does not think so highly of Hatton perhaps Taylor was indebted to him financially, and repaid him in the only way possible—by his eloquence. Hatton’s son was one of Taylor’s pupils at Newton Hall.

¹ v, 4.

After these brief but gracious dedicatory epistles Taylor opens his book with a vigorous introduction. The attacks then levelled against episcopacy are attributed to the 'accursed machinations' of the devil—'the superseminator of heresies and crude beliefs ;' the abolition of the bishops is but the prelude to the great apostasy, the reign of Anti-Christ, and the disruption of the Church. Episcopacy is the surest guarantee of the solidarity and unity of the Church ; 'the best deletery in the world for schism.' This line of thought he subsequently develops at considerable length, and it is obviously borrowed from St. Cyprian, whom he frequently quotes in this connexion. The historical parallel probably occurred to Taylor ; for as in the Decian persecution the bishops of the great sees were first attacked, so it was in the national upheaval Taylor feared.

The adversary of Christ and enemy of His spouse therefore persecutes the bishop, that having taken him away he may without check pride himself in the ruins of the church.¹

Taylor then plunges into his main thesis :—Episcopacy is by Divine Institution, Apostolical Tradition and Catholic Practice ; and he proceeds to consider the subject under these three heads.

First then, that we may build upon a rock. Christ did institute a government to order and rule His church by His authority, according to His laws, and by the assistance of the blessed Spirit.²

Taylor does not at this stage examine the evidence for this highly contentious statement, but he asks if the government of the Church were not so derived how shall it be governed ? That a matter of such vital importance

¹ p. 15.

² p. 16.

as the government of the Church should be left without definitely expressed divine authority was to his mind utterly inconceivable. He therefore proposes to defend his proposition by an appeal to 'the narrow platform' of his opponents. If the Puritans

for our private actions and duties economical will pretend a text, I suppose it will not be thought possible scripture should make default in assignation of the public government, insomuch as all laws intend the public and the general directly, the private and the particular by consequence only and comprehension within the general.¹

This line of argument is unquestionably open to serious criticism. In the first place the argument from Scripture for one form of Church government had already been dismissed by Hooker.² In the second place while it is true that Scripture enunciates principles and laws for the guidance and governance both of individuals and nations, the assumption is unwarrantable that there should be an 'assignation of the public government.' If this were true it would follow that both ecclesiastical and civil government should depend for their form upon a Scriptural basis, which so far as the latter is concerned is obviously absurd. It is important to observe too, that those who argue for the divine origin of episcopacy, do not necessarily attribute the episcopal form of government directly to Christ Himself. Taylor is not always consistent on this point. Thus whereas above he states that 'Christ did institute a government,' in the passage from the dedicatory letter already quoted he says, episcopacy relies 'upon the institution of Christ or the institution of the apostles.' The latter, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, may

¹ p. 16.

² *Eccles. Polity, Bk. III, chap. i.*

or may not have instituted the episcopal form of Church government, but if they did, episcopacy could still claim a divine origin, although except by inference, it could not be said to be derived directly from Christ. In *Episcopacy Asserted* it is clear that when Taylor speaks of the divine origin of episcopacy, he means it to be understood in the sense that Christ Himself established this form of government.

Taylor then states the only alternative, as it seemed to him. If Christ did not originate the rule of bishops,

then we must derive it from human prudence and emergency of conveniences and concourse of new circumstances, and then the government must often be changed, or else time must stand still and things be ever in the same state and possibility. Both the consequences are extremely full of inconvenience. For if it be left to human prudence, then either the government of the church is not in immediate order to the good and benison of souls, or if it be, that such an institution, in such immediate order to eternity, should be dependent upon human prudence, it were to trust such a rich commodity in a cock-boat that no wise pilot will be supposed to do. But if there be often changes in government ecclesiastical (which was the other consequent,) in the public frame I mean and constitution of it, either the certain infinity of schisms will arise, or the dangerous issues of public inconsistency and innovation, which in matters of religion is good for nothing but to make men distrust all; and, come the best that can come, there will be so many church-governments as there are human prudences.¹

This is quoted at length as it raises questions of vital importance. The first consequent assumes that episcopacy is 'in immediate order to the good and benison of souls.' This is true in the sense that the sacraments receive their validity from the operation of the Holy Spirit through the ministers of Christ; this is plainly

¹ pp. 16-17.

what Taylor means. He neither here nor elsewhere teaches that without the ministrations of episcopally ordained ministers, souls may not find their destiny with God; but he insists that it was a part of Christ's plan for 'the good and benison of souls,' that the merits of His own life and death should be mediated through the channels of His own appointment.

The second consequent makes a wider and more emphatic appeal. Government resting upon 'human prudence' is certain to change. Already perhaps Taylor anticipated the overthrow of his Sovereign; at any rate the swelling tide of political passion was a sufficient indication of what might happen. Civil revolutions are fraught, not infrequently, with disastrous consequences; the contemplation of a change of government in the Church of God filled Taylor with alarm. He was sufficiently informed of the disruptive state of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, to realize that once episcopacy is abandoned then the Church loses its visible unity, is split up into 'an infinity of schisms' which time so far from healing may actually multiply. He saw quite clearly that, humanly speaking, the backbone of the Church is the historic episcopate. Continuity of the body is not sufficient; there must be too a continuity in the officers. This is a truth which gains wider acceptance the more carefully the facts of history are studied.

The view that the episcopate represents the Apostolic succession, is in accordance with the sum total of facts as we know them . . . through the apostles who had instituted it, this hierarchy went back to the very beginning of the Church, and derived its authority from those to whom Jesus Christ had entrusted His work.¹

¹ Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church*, p. 66.

Taylor further points out that a government derived from 'human prudence' would be incapable of enforcing its discipline.

For why should they obey? Not for conscience, for there is no derivation from divine authority; not for fear, for they have not the power of the sword.¹

This statement cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. It indicates how little grasp Taylor had upon the leading principles of democratic government. It is surely not beyond the bounds of possibility for individuals to unite and form their own religious community, establish their own mode of government, and by common consent to the principles underlying it, enforce its discipline. Calvin had attempted something of this kind at Geneva a century before. On the other hand, it cannot be pretended that these purely human forms of Church government, however lofty their motive, are able to stand the shock of crisis, or possess the same vitality, as a government which not only has behind it an age long history, but traces its *fons et origo* to Christ Himself.

Having thus laid down his first proposition that Christ instituted a government for the Church, Taylor's next task is to establish it by an appeal to Scripture. He examines the well-known passages of the Gospels in which Christ is represented as setting up a jurisdiction and a government for His Church.² The commission 'to feed' and 'to govern'—the latter he says is 'all one' with the former—was delegated to the apostles by 'immediate substitution'; and the Apostolate was to be transmitted to others by the imposition

¹ p. 17.

² St. Matthew xviii. 18, xvi. 18-19; St. John xx. 22-3, etc.

of hands. The distinguishing features of the gifts bestowed upon the original Apostles he draws in clear outline :—

For in the apostles there was something extraordinary, something ordinary. Whatsoever was extraordinary, as immediate mission, unlimited jurisdiction, and miraculous operations, that was not necessary to the perpetual regiment of the church, for then the church should fail when these privileges extraordinary did cease. . . . In the extraordinary privileges of the apostles they had no successors ; therefore of necessity a succession must be constituted in the ordinary office of apostolate . . . and that which we now call the order and office of episcopacy.¹

So far Taylor is in substantial agreement with Hooker in showing that ‘the first Bishops in the Church of Christ were the blessed apostles.’² When, however, he next traces the order of presbyter as distinct from the episcopate to the call of the seventy or seventy-two, his argument is extremely precarious. Nothing more is heard of them, he says, in the Gospels but ‘after the Passion the apostles gathered them together and joined them in clerical commission, by virtue of Christ’s first ordination of them.’³ Among these original presbyters Taylor reckons Ananias who baptized St. Paul, Philip the Evangelist, Judas surnamed Justus, Silas, St. Mark, and John the Presbyter.

Here it should be observed that the mission of the seventy or seventy-two is mentioned by St. Luke alone, and is usually regarded as being temporary in its nature, and a preparation for Christ’s teaching. Eusebius plainly states : ‘there exists no catalogue of the seventy,’⁴ and those of whom he says some tradition has been preserved

¹ pp. 19-20.

³ p. 25.

² Hooker, Book VII, chap. iv.

⁴ *Hist. Eccl.*, i, xii.

do not, in any instance, agree with the names mentioned above by Taylor. Further the fact that the seventy quickly disappeared is best accounted for by the rise of the presbyters who superseded them. In his anxiety to prove that the presbyterate as well as the episcopate is of 'immediate substitution' from Christ, Taylor certainly goes beyond the evidence.

✓ Taylor next describes the offices perpetual to the Apostolate mentioning first, ordination. He illustrates this in the case of the ordination of the seven, rightly observing that 'they were not now ordained to be ministers of the Mysteries but of tables.'¹ It is probably erroneous to suppose that these seven were 'deacons' in the ecclesiastical meaning of the term;² but Taylor's explanation is that they were already presbyters being of the seventy, for which information he is indebted to Epiphanius. It is interesting to notice that Hooker rejects this statement.

That the first seven deacons were chosen out of the seventy is an error in Epiphanius. For to draw men from places of weightier into rooms of meaner labour had not benefit.³

In any case this 'setting apart' of the seven could not have been an ordination to any spiritual office as, on Taylor's showing, they had already been ordained by Christ; unless indeed the diaconate were regarded as a higher office than the presbyterate. Taylor's main contention is, however, sound enough; only the Apostles

¹ p. 26.

² 'That in the seven men the origin of the diaconate has to be sought has certainly been maintained since the time of Cyprian, but the idea has only the similarity of the name to prove it.' von Dobschutz, *Probleme*, p. 43.

³ Bk. V, ch. lxxviii, 6.

or ‘Apostolic men’ had the right of conferring ordination.

Imposition of hands is a duty and office necessary for the perpetuating of a church, lest it expire in one age. This power of imposition of hands for ordination was fixed upon the apostles and apostolic men, and not communicated to the seventy-two disciples or presbyters.¹

Similarly Taylor shows from the New Testament that the Apostles or Apostolic men alone had the power of administering the rite of confirmation; the gift thus conveyed was not miraculous or extraordinary, but the abiding presence of the Comforter promised by our Lord. In addition to these offices the Apostles ‘and those like them’ had superior jurisdiction, based upon the plenitude of power bestowed upon them by Christ. ‘As My Father hath sent me, even so send I you.’ Episcopal jurisdiction is vital to Taylor’s whole line of argument, as he says :—

This thing is of great consideration, and this use I will make of it; That either Christ made the seventy-two to be presbyters, as the ancient church always did believe, or else He gave no distinct commission for any such distinct order. If the second be admitted, then the presbyterate is not of immediate divine institution, but of apostolical only, as is the order of deacons; and the whole plenitude of power is in the order apostolical alone, and the apostles did constitute presbyters with a greater portion of their own power, as they did deacons with a less. But if the first be said, then the commission to the seventy-two presbyters being only of preaching that we find in scripture, all the rest of their power which now they have is by apostolical ordinance; and then, although the apostles did admit them *in partem solicitudinis*, yet they did not admit them *in plenitudinem potestatis*, for then they must have made them apostles, and then there will be no distinction of order neither by divine nor apostolical institution neither.²

¹ p. 27.

² p. 33.

Taylor thus makes his position quite clear. If the presbyterate is held to be an institution of Christ, then in virtue of their office, presbyters have no jurisdiction ; but if, on the other hand, they are regarded as receiving their office from the Apostles, then their jurisdiction must be derived *a fonte apostolorum* and is therefore necessarily of a lower degree. In either case presbyters have no jurisdiction essential to their order.

Thus far Taylor has traced the origin of the episcopate and presbyterate ; bishops are the successors of the Apostles, and presbyters of the seventy-two. He produces an abundance of quotations from the Fathers in support of the position that bishops are *ex æquo* successors of the Apostles ; but only one clear statement that presbyters are the successors of the seventy-two, and that from the writings of the Venerable Bede. How the Apostles restricted their various 'commissions' to two orders is thus explained.

Indeed the apostles did ordain such men, and scattered their power at first, for there was so much employment in any one of them (i.e., deacon, evangelist, prophet, etc.) as to require one man for one office. But a while after they united all the lesser parts of power into two sorts of men, whom the church hath since distinguished by the names of presbyters and deacons, and called them two distinct orders. But yet if we speak properly and according to the exigence of divine institution, there is *unum sacerdotium*, 'one priesthood', appointed by Christ ; and that was the commission given by Christ to His apostles and to their successors precisely . . . and although the power of it is all of divine institution, as the power to baptize, to preach, to consecrate, to absolve, to minister ; yet that so much of it should be given to one sort of men, so much less to another, that is only of apostolical ordinance.¹

¹ p. 44.

The lesser orders are thus inherent within the episcopate ; he that has the highest, the power of ordination, must have all the others, ‘ else he cannot give them to any else.’

Taylor then leaves the Scriptural basis and turns to the second line of defence—Apostolical Tradition.

We have seen what Christ did, now we shall see what was done by His apostles ; and since they knew their Master’s mind so well, we can never better confide in any argument to prove divine institution of a derivative authority than the practice apostolical.¹

He traces the foundation of the first sees : St. James at Jerusalem ; St. Timothy at Ephesus ; St. Titus at Crete ; St. Mark at Alexandria, etc. Such an abundance of evidence for the episcopate does he find in the apostolic age, that he argues even if it were not of immediate divine commission yet it ‘ is not less an apostolical ordinance and delivered unto us by the same authority that the observance of the Lord’s day is.’ If apostolical tradition is allowed to be decisive, in the case of Sunday observance, the baptism of infants, and the consecration of the Eucharist by presbyters, then asks Taylor, why not in the establishment of a bishop ? He further observes that the office held by the apostolical bishop was one of great eminence ; he alone had the right of jurisdiction. Jerome’s statement that the presbyters in common with the bishops ruled the Church,² is subjected to severe criticism. Taylor does not deny that the bishops could if they chose delegate their jurisdiction to presbyters ; it was because they did not do so in Jerome’s day that he protested ; but if it is delegated authority then it is clear that it resides in

¹ p. 50.

² Hooker quotes Jerome in the same connexion, Bk. VII. vi. 10

those who delegate it. Hence the proper seat of power and authority is the episcopate, which Jerome himself partly admits :—

The presbyters ought to judge in common with the bishop for the bishops ought to imitate Moses, who might have ruled alone, yet was content to take others to him, and himself only to rule in chief.¹

Thus Taylor gradually broadens his argument in defence of episcopacy. Founded in the Scriptures, he shows with numerous quotations from the Fathers that it was faithfully preserved in apostolic times, and is the Catholic practice of the Church. In an eloquent passage he rejects the notion that episcopacy is an accretion alien to the 'idea' of Christ, or that the Catholic Church has been fundamentally deceived by the post-apostolic age.

For consider we, is it imaginable that all the world should immediately after the death of the apostles conspire together to 'seek themselves,' and not *ea quae sunt Jesu Christi*; to erect a government of their own devising, not ordained by Christ, not delivered by His apostles, and to relinquish a divine foundation, and the apostolical superstructure, which if it was at all was a part of our Master's will, which whosoever knew and observed not was to be beaten with many stripes? Is it imaginable that those gallant men who could not be brought off from the prescriptions of gentilism to the seeming impossibilities of christianity without evidence of miracle and clarity of demonstration upon agreed principles, should all upon their first adhesion to christianity make an universal dereliction of so considerable a part of their Master's will, and leave gentilism to destroy christianity; for he that erects another economy than what the Master of the family hath ordained, destroys all those relations of mutual dependence which Christ hath made for the coadunation of all the parts of it, and so destroys it in the formality of a christian congregation or family.²

Again :—

If all christendom should be guilty of so open, so united a defiance against their Master, by what argument or confidence can any misbeliever be persuaded to christianity, which in all its members for so many ages together is so unlike its first institution, as in its most public affair, and for matter of order of the most general concernment, is so contrary to the first birth ?¹

In considering the distinction of names which the Church early assigned to the different offices, Taylor observes that in the New Testament, ‘ bishops are sometimes called presbyters, but presbyters are never called bishops.’ This is intelligible he argues when it is remembered that the presbyterate is inherent within the episcopate—‘ the order of the presbyter is comprehended within the dignity of a bishop.’ He thus sums up the New Testament position in regard to the names :—

After all this, yet it cannot be shown in scripture that any one single and mere presbyter is called a bishop ; but it may be often found that a bishop, nay, an apostle, is called a presbyter . . . and therefore since this communication of names is only in descension, by reason of the involution, or comprehension of presbyter within *episcopus*, but never in ascension ; that is, an apostle, or a bishop, is often called presbyter, and deacon, and prophet, and pastor, and doctor, but never *retro*, that a mere deacon or a mere presbyter should be called either bishop or apostle ; it can never be brought either to depress the order of bishops below their throne, or erect mere presbyters above their stalls in the quire. For we may as well confound apostle and deacon, and with clearer probability, than *episcopus* and *presbyter*. For apostles and bishops are in scripture often called deacons.²

In the course of time ‘ immediately after the apostles ’ says Taylor the name bishop became confined to the

¹ p. 83.

² p. 88.

chief officer of the Church; and although the names episcopus and presbyter were confounded 'their offices were not.'

An interesting section of this work is where Taylor shows that in antiquity the bishop alone was called the pastor, doctor, pontifex, *sacerdos ecclesiae*.¹ Further, with many quotations from the Fathers, he demonstrates that all through the ages of the Church the office of bishop has been identical with that portrayed in the New Testament; it is always the bishop who ordains. What then does he say of those who had abandoned episcopal ordination?

But shall we then condemn those few of the reformed churches whose ordinations always have been without bishops? No indeed, that must not be; they stand or fall to their own master. And though I cannot justify their ordinations, yet what degree their necessity is of, what their desire of episcopal ordinations may do for their personal excuse, and how far a good life and a catholic belief may lead a man in the way to heaven although the forms of external communion be not observed, I cannot determine . . . and yet of them, the want of canonical ordination is a defect which I trust themselves desire to be remedied; but if it cannot be done, their sin indeed is the less, but their misery the greater.²

His own absolute devotion to the episcopate is, however, strongly stated:—

But I hope it will so happen to us, that it will be verified here what was once said of the catholics under the fury of Justina, *Sed tanta fuit perseverantia fidelium populorum ut animas prius amittere quam episcopum malent*; if it were put to our choice rather to die (to wit the death of martyrs, not rebels) than lose the sacred order and offices of episcopacy, without which no priest, no ordination, no consecration of the sacrament, no absolution, no rite, or sacrament, legitimately can be performed in order to eternity.³

¹ pp. 93-6.

² p. 121.

³ pp. 121-2.

The many duties attaching to the episcopal office Taylor describes at considerable length, and frequently appeals to the Fathers, councils and canons, in order to vindicate the historical nature of the episcopate. He concludes his treatise with an attack upon the innovations of his day :—

But the new office of LAY-ELDER I confess I cannot comprehend in any reasonable proportion ; his person, his quality, his office, his authority, his subordination, his commission hath made so many divisions and new emergent questions, and they none of them all asserted either by scripture or antiquity, that if I had a mind to leave the way of God and of the catholic church and run in pursuit of this meteor, I might quickly be amused, but should find nothing certain but a certainty of being misguided ; therefore if not for conscience' sake, yet for prudence, *bonum est esse hic*, it is good to remain in the fold of Christ, under the guard and supravision of those shepherds Christ hath appointed, and which His sheep have always followed . . . I only add, that the church hath insinuated it to be the duty of all good catholic christians to pray for bishops, and as the case now stands, for episcopacy itself : for there was never any Church liturgy but said litanies for their KING and for their BISHOP.¹

Sufficient quotations have been given, for the reader to judge for himself, both the nature of Taylor's arguments and the method of exegesis he employs. Tested by the standards of modern scholarship and recent research, Taylor's account of the origin of the episcopate is crude, if not inaccurate ; but, of course, it is ridiculous to criticize a seventeenth century divine in the light of facts which the twentieth century has discovered. If he is over-dogmatic, and endeavours to prove more than the facts will allow, it must be borne in mind, that the circumstances in which he wrote, were not conducive to an impartial examination of the evidence, or an enquiry

¹ p. 226.

in which preconceived notions were likely to be reduced to a minimum. The work is lacking in sustained argument, and is as inferior to Hooker's treatment of the same theme, as Taylor's intellect was incapable of that profound and concentrated deliberation which characterizes all that Hooker wrote. *Episcopacy Asserted*, moreover, bears the marks of haste upon it; it is obviously the work of a young man who has not thoroughly assimilated the Fathers he so freely quotes; and it is overladen with 'traditional pedantries which look imposing, but which weaken and obscure rather than strengthen or throw light upon his conclusions.'¹

He had not yet developed that freedom or luxuriance in expression which was to mark him out as the 'Shakespeare of English prose.' Neither the arguments nor the style will attract the modern reader;² yet in spite of its

¹ Tulloch, *Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*, i, 358.

² For the modern view of the episcopate *vide*—

Turner, *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i, chap. vi. and *Studies in Early Church History*.

Nolloth, *The Rise of the Christian Religion*.

Whitney, *The Episcopate and the Reformation*, Appendix I, p. 174 summarizes as follows:—

'The episcopal theory was once stated by its advocates, and is still stated by its opponents, in a somewhat crude form. It asserted the general existence from the earliest times of monarchical bishops with an almost mechanical transmission of authority. But it can be put to-day in a wider and deeper way somewhat as follows: (1) An essential feature of the Church was its unity, represented to begin by the Apostles; (2) at the close of the sub-apostolic age that unity is represented by the bishops, whose rise is the natural and inevitable result of developments, and whose continuous succession secured by the laying on of hands is the guarantee of unity; (3) the Episcopate, transmitted as we know it, is much more

defects, the book has a living interest if only as indicating the loving and passionate devotion with which loyal English Churchmen clung to episcopacy at that momentous period in the history of the Church.

than a mere mechanical device of government : it is the " backbone of the Church," and it drew to itself from all quarters both the powers and the forms of life.'

CHAPTER III

THE LIBERTY OF PROPHESYING

ON June 28, 1647, appeared Taylor's epoch-making volume on toleration. In order to grasp the full significance of this remarkable work it is important to observe the circumstances that called it forth. The Church of England was passing through the fires of persecution, with Puritanism everywhere triumphant. Yet at this stage there was considerable uncertainty of the final issue ; the situation, though desperate, was not utterly without hope. The fact that the King's chaplains were allowed free access to him, and the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* in their ministrations, clearly shows that the Independents at any rate were not entirely lacking in toleration. That the gulf might yet be bridged and the final crash averted ; that some means of reconciliation might yet be discovered was Taylor's profound conviction ; and it was this hope that inspired him to write his book.

The *Liberty of Prophesying* did not, however, by any means stand alone in pleading for mutual tolerance and forbearance. Chillingworth, Taylor's contemporary at Oxford, had published ten years before his famous *Religion of Protestants*. Passage after passage from this work might be quoted, bearing a remarkable resemblance to Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*. In their fundamental conceptions the two books have a striking similarity ; both insist upon 'the plain places of Scripture' and the Apostles' Creed as alone indispensable to faith ; both carefully distinguish the opinions of men ~

from revealed truth. Lord Falkland, too, in his *Discourse of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, condemns as^w Taylor does persecution for religious opinions. The chief glory of the Christian religion, Falkland had argued, was that it thrives most when persecuted; 'and having that advantage of the Mohammedan,' he considered, 'it should be to take ill care of Christianity to build it up by Turkish means.' Williams in his pamphlet *The Bloody Tenet of Persecution*, published in 1644, spoke out with no uncertain voice against the iniquity of persecution; while there had also appeared an anonymous tract entitled *Liberty of Conscience* which advocated charity and toleration. Taylor's work, however, was the most remarkable of all; it lays wide and deep the foundations of religious toleration, and its warnings and lessons have a special interest for the present age.

The first sentence in the long dedicatory letter to Lord Hatton supplies the reader with a clue to the occasion on which the book was written. 'A great storm had dashed the vessel of the Church all in pieces,' but Taylor had been fortunate in finding refuge at the Golden Grove, where in the quiet serenity of his retreat, he meditates not without anxiety upon the calamity that had befallen the Church and nation, 'convinced,' as he says, 'that such was the excellency of Christ's doctrine, that if men could obey it, Christians should never war one against another.'¹ He therefore assumes the rôle of the peacemaker, and pleads for charity, forgiveness and 'tolerations mutual.' He has with him no books of his own and needs none; for all that his subject requires is an application of the first principles of Christianity. It is to these that he will appeal. His concern is not with 'impertinent wranglings,' but with the 'unity of faith, in things necessary,

¹ V. 342.

in matters of creed, and articles fundamental,' which together with a good life are alone necessary to salvation.

If persons be Christians in their lives and Christians in their profession, if they acknowledge the eternal Son of God for their Master and their Lord, and live in all relations as becomes persons making such professions, why then should I hate such persons whom God loves and who love God ?¹

This statement contains in essence the whole argument of his book. He fears, however, that by insisting upon fundamentals and leaving other matters undetermined, as the Bible leaves them, he will be accused of encouraging 'indifferency of religion,' and may be thought to be favouring the view that 'men may be saved in any religion.' Hence he lays down a number of safeguards; the two chief of which are:—whatever is opposed to the foundation of faith, or contrary to a good life, or destructive of society, cannot 'pretend to compliance or toleration;' and secondly, while it is not his purpose to teach or encourage 'variety of sects and contradictions in opinions,' yet since they already exist they are to be suppressed by 'proper instruments':—'by preaching and disputation (so that neither of them breed disturbance,) by charity and sweetness, by holiness of life, assiduity of exhortation, by the word of God and prayer.'²

The dedicatory letter also includes an interesting historical sketch of the decline of toleration within the Church.³ He observes that 'the imposing upon other men's understanding, being masters of their conscience and lording it over their faith, came in with the retinue and traces of Antichrist.' During the first three centuries it was not so; until the year 400 no 'Catholic persons

¹ p. 346.

² p. 354.

³ pp. 349–54.

or very few,' implored the aid of the secular arm against the heretics except that Arius 'behaved himself so seditiously and tumultuously that the Nicene fathers procured a temporary decree for his relegation.' With the decline of primitive simplicity of faith and purity of life, 'the ages grew worse,' and persecution of heterodox opinions was resorted to. Force and violence, were first preached in the Church of Rome by the Popes, but even they hesitated to condemn heretics to death; this was reserved for Dominic, to the friars of whose order 'the Inquisition is entrusted' he bitterly remarks.

In thus reviewing the origin and development of persecution, Taylor's purpose is not primarily to attack the Roman Church, for heretics first used force, but to emphasize the utter incongruity of inflicting corporal punishments upon those who err spiritually, and to convince those who, because of the atmosphere of intolerance in which they had been born and bred, honestly believed that it was a Christian duty to persecute those who dissented from them.

The wide divergence in doctrine, and the peculiar tenets of the various Churches, not only tended to perpetuate the divisions of Christendom, but were responsible indirectly for much bitterness and animosity. The Church of Rome, says Taylor, 'hath spots enough;' the Greek Church 'denies the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son;' the Zwinglians are 'sacramentaries'; the Calvinists 'are fierce in the matter of absolute predetermination,' while the Socinians 'profess a portentous number of strange opinions; they deny the Holy Trinity and the satisfaction of our Blessed Saviour;' the Anabaptists 'laugh at Paedo-baptism;' the Ethiopian Church is Nestorian. 'Where then,' asks Taylor, 'shall we fix our confidence, or join

communion ?' For him there was but one escape from these 'distractions, and disunions,' and that was

to be united in that common term, which as it does constitute the church in its being such, so it is the medium of the communion of saints, and that is the creed of the apostles ; and in all other things an honest endeavour to find out what truths we can, and a charitable and mutual permission to others that disagree from us and our opinions.¹

This is Taylor's eirenicon which he fully develops in the book itself which must now be considered.

The *Liberty of Prophesying* opens with an examination of the nature and integrity of faith ; there is no philosophical discussion of what faith is because that was not the matter in dispute ; he is content rather with offering a simple definition which would satisfy all parties :— 'Faith is the knowing or believing that only which is in immediate and necessary order to salvation.'²

The fundamental point at issue was what precisely those articles were, which from their very nature stood in immediate order to salvation ; hence Taylor's argument turns not so much upon the psychology of faith, on which he says little, as the content and object of faith. The Christian is bound to believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Sovereign Lawgiver, and Redeemer of mankind ; this is the foundation article of faith, and whatever is deducible from it, except it be definitely declared by Christ or His Apostles is not necessary to salvation. 'I see not,' he says, 'how any man can justify the making the way to heaven narrower than Jesus Christ hath made it, it being already so narrow that there are few that find it.'³ Here Taylor is combatting the Roman argument that whatever is logically

¹ p. 357.

² p. 368.

³ p. 371.

deducible from these prime articles, is also necessary to be believed.

Further, these elemental truths of Christianity were enshrined in a creed, 'composed by the apostles, or the holy men their companions and disciples,' which was regarded as the rule of faith to all Christians, because it contained 'the entire object of faith and the foundation of religion.' Again Taylor is careful to point out that the articles of the Apostles' Creed are not general principles 'in the bosom of which many more articles equally necessary to be believed explicitly, and more particular, are enfolded ; but it is as minute an explication of those *prima credibilia* as is necessary to salvation.'¹

If this Creed, taken as it stands, were an inadequate expression of faith, as believers in doctrinal development have asserted, then Taylor argues the Apostles were 'unfit dispensers of the mysteries of the kingdom ;' if they believed it to be insufficient then they were deceivers whose motive was 'to beguile credulous people by making them believe their faith was sufficient.'²

Now since the Apostles' Creed contains all those articles of faith which a Christian is bound to believe, Taylor pertinently asks :—

If the apostles admitted all to their communion that believed this creed, why shall we exclude any that preserve the same entire ?³

It is important here, in fairness to Taylor, not to read into his language more than he intends to convey ; whatever 'communion' may signify at the present time, Taylor means that term to be understood in the sense of fellowship and good-will ; but it is clear that he does not propose to allow of, or sanction, 'inter-communion,'

¹ p. 371.

² p. 373.

³ *Ibid.*

including the reception of the sacraments upon the basis of the Apostles' Creed. All who assent to these great articles are to be admitted by Holy Baptism into the fellowship of Christ's religion, and then are bound to submit themselves to the discipline of the communion of which they have been made members. To suppose that Taylor was arguing for 'a reunion all round,' upon the irreducible minimum of faith—the Apostles' Creed—is to mistake profoundly his whole position. What he is at great pains to point out is, that since the Apostles' Creed contains the prime truths of the Christian religion, toleration must be extended to all who accept it; and he protests vigorously against those who having made these articles 'more minute and particular,' proceed to enforce their deductions upon others as of equal authority with the Creed itself; this leads inevitably to intolerance, the restraint of liberty and an 'infinity of schisms'.

It is important to observe also, that the practice of drawing deductions from the articles of the Creed is not condemned outright; for within certain limits it is inevitable and legitimate; but the error consists in forcing these deductions upon others as articles of faith. That any *new* truth can be added to the Creed Taylor denies with emphasis; but his standpoint is not inconsistent with a belief in the progressive operation of the Holy Spirit within the Church, guiding her into all truth. He well says :—

The church hath power to intend our faith, but not to extend it; to make our belief more evident, but not more large and comprehensive.¹

The mission of Christ was to declare the whole will of the Father; the Apostles preached the entire Gospel

¹ p. 375.

of Christ ; nothing was therefore omitted necessary to salvation. The insuperable difficulty that besets all theories of doctrinal development, however fascinating they may be, is to discover an infallible means whereby the development, at each stage, may be tested. This is the line of argument Taylor pursues. Deductions from the articles of the Creed cannot, he says, be regarded as articles of faith unless the men who made them were 'furnished with an infallible judgment, an infallible prudence, a never-failing charity,' 'of which I think no arguments can make us certain.'¹ The foundation of the Church is Christ and is therefore unchangeable, and since the faith was not evolved by, but committed to, the Church, the Church cannot enlarge it.

All this is true enough ; yet the modern reader, familiar with the evolutionary theory, and the Bergsonian philosophy, may be tempted to dismiss this conception as static and lifeless ; but it really is not so. The function of the Church is to bear witness to, and make 'more evident', as Taylor says, the body of faith once for all revealed by Christ ; now clearly this implies that the Church, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, is to interpret unchanging truths in terms of thought and life which prevail at any given time ; for only so does the faith become intelligible and convincing ; and it is in the performance of this task, perhaps the most difficult and dangerous of all, that the indwelling Spirit is made evident ; but the foundations remain constant.²

The following passage from Tertullian quoted by Taylor, expresses clearly his own view :—the rule of

¹ p. 376.

² For development of Christian Doctrine the reader is referred to Newman's fascinating book.

faith is the Apostles' Creed ; this alone is essential ; in all other matters each man must be left free to decide for himself.

This symbol is the one sufficient, immovable, unalterable, and unchangeable rule of faith, that admits no increment or decrement ; but if the integrity and unity of this be preserved, in all other things men may take a liberty of enlarging their knowledges and prophesyings, according as they are assisted by the grace of God.¹

Such then is Taylor's first conclusion. He next turns to the nature of heresy : which must be reckoned 'according to the strict capacity of the Christian faith and not in speculative opinions.' His analysis of the New Testament teaching on heresy is particularly interesting ; only those, he observes, who taught 'impieties' or who denied prime and immediate truths were regarded as heretics in the apostolic age ; thus Simon Magus was condemned because his error rested upon 'a false opinion proceeding from a low account of God,' and was 'promoted by his own ends of pride and covetousness.'² Taylor also illustrates the New Testament teaching by referring to the question of circumcision which was decided at the Council of Jerusalem. In Taylor's opinion those who insisted upon circumcision were guilty of heresy because Moses and not Christ was for them the sovereign lawgiver ; but in spite of the gravity of their error the Church was tolerant in her attitude lest she should alienate the Jews.

The apostles did for a time tolerate their dissent, which I doubt not but was intended as a precedent for the church to imitate for ever after.³

Thus far Taylor's position is clear ; heresy consists in denying a fundamental article of the faith, or in holding

¹ p. 378.

² p. 379.

³ p. 380.

opinions destructive of good living ; to this he adds a further proposition : in the New Testament ‘ no pious person was condemned, no man that did invincibly err, or *bona mente*.’¹ The apostolic censure was confined to those who taught immoral opinions ; thus ‘ those of the circumcision ’ were tolerated until ‘ to their error they added impiety.’ Heresy, therefore, is not primarily an intellectual error but a defect in the will. It was far from Taylor’s intention to under-value the supreme necessity of a right belief as the sure basis of right conduct, but he pleads that heresy in the New Testament is only regarded as such when it has made its evil effects felt upon the lives of men. ‘ Faith and a good life,’ he says, ‘ are made one duty, and vice is called opposite to faith, and heresy opposed to holiness and sanctity.’² Here, as always, Taylor measures the value of religion by the type of character it produces ; faith is not an abstraction nor yet an assent of the intellect to certain propositions ; but faith must be tested and verified by life.

However, they may be distinguished if we speak like philosophers, they cannot be distinguished when we speak like Christians.³

This remark is highly suggestive, and might well constitute the central theme of a whole volume upon the philosophy of the Christian religion ; but its veracity would not be universally admitted to-day. There are many Christian thinkers who have been profoundly influenced by the philosophy known as pragmatism, which—whatever its defects—by an appeal not to logic but to experience, has reasserted the essential unity of faith and life. The repeated emphasis that Taylor lays

¹ p. 381.

² p. 382.

³ p. 383.

upon the ‘will to believe,’ as contrasted with the intellect, suggests that he too was inclined to pragmatism. If faith involved intellectual processes solely, then ‘the unlearned were certainly in a damnable condition, and all good scholars should be saved; whereas I am afraid too much of the contrary is true;’¹ and as faith is made ‘moral by the mixtures of choice and charity,’ so heresy is primarily that which is immoral springing from self-esteem or unworthy ambition, but not a defect in the understanding only.

If (a man’s) error be not voluntary, and part of an ill life, then because he lives a good life, he is a good man, and therefore no heretic; no man is heretic against his will.²

How far has the Church maintained in theory and practice, this conception of heresy found in the New Testament? In the sub-apostolic age heresies were rife, but those only were regarded as such which denied a prime article of faith or were destructive of Christian sanctity. ‘The further the succession went from the apostles,’ however, the tendency to condemn every new opinion as heretical became more and more pronounced. That a change was coming over the Church in this respect is clearly demonstrated, in Taylor’s opinion, in the dispute of Cyprian and Stephen (256). In rebaptizing heretics Cyprian was unquestionably in error; but he allowed liberty to those who differed from him. Stephen, on the other hand, whose decision the Church has since upheld, excommunicated the bishops of Asia and Africa, and condemned them as heretical. Cyprian’s erroneous opinion Taylor excuses on the ground that he was a pious man and therefore could not be a heretic. ‘A wicked person in his error becomes heretic, when the

¹ p. 383.

² p. 386.

good man in the same error shall have all the rewards of faith.'¹

The Church in her corporate capacity first definitely departed from the New Testament teaching on heresy when the Council of Nicæa 'enlarged the creed,' making the new articles of equal necessity to be believed as the Apostles' Creed, and threatened damnation to dissenters. Thus says Taylor, 'the liberty of prophesying began to be something restrained.' He is satisfied with the Council of Nicæa because it 'enlarged the creed according to his sense ;' but he is inclined to agree with Constantine's statement that the matter in dispute did not concern 'the substance of faith, or the worship of God, nor any chief commandment of scripture.'² Taylor accepts the findings of that Council but nevertheless he thinks it was an error 'to enlarge the creed ;' or if definition were absolutely necessary then it might have been left in 'a rescript for record to all posterity ;' and he further remarks that had the subsequent Councils followed the example of Nicæa and 'put all their decrees into the creed, as some have done since, to what a volume had the creed by this time swelled ? and all the house had run into foundation, nothing left for superstructures.'³

Moreover Nicæa was considered final, as St. Athanasius states : 'that faith which the fathers there confessed, was sufficient for the refutation of all impiety and the establishment of all faith in Christ and true religion ;'⁴ yet, nevertheless, Constantinople added an article *de novo et integro*, 'I believe one baptism for the remission of sins ;' Constantinople likewise believed

¹ p. 397.

² Constantine's letter quoted, p. 399.

³ p. 402.

⁴ p. 404.

this creed to be final and pronounced anathema on all who should add anything thereto—

And yet for all this the church of Rome in a synod at Gentilly added the clause of *Filioque* to the article of the procession of the Holy Ghost, and what they have done since, all the world knows.¹

This is Taylor's verdict. The Council of Nicæa unconsciously became the precedent for 'enlarging creeds' and incorporating fresh articles so that within a hundred years of that Council, some twelve or thirteen symbols were promulgated, with the result that the liberty of prophesying became more restrained, and those who were not able to assent were declared heretical. But, on the other hand, while over-definition is to be deprecated, Taylor does scant justice to his own historical knowledge, and is unable or rather unwilling to face fairly the weighty issue that was before Nicæa. Taylor must have known, as indeed he did know, that what he terms the 'enlarging of the creed,' was not the addition of any new articles, but simply expressed in a new form the apostolic teaching of the New Testament; and further he fails to point out, as he should have done, that the task of defining was forced upon the Church, in order that the prime articles of faith might be safeguarded against heretics, in Taylor's own connotation of that term, who had already attacked them. His remarks upon the Athanasian Creed, which he regards as the logical outcome of the process of defining begun at Nicæa, are such as might be expected in a work pleading for toleration.

I confess I cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his preface and conclusion as there was in the Nicene creed. Nothing there but damnation and

¹ p. 405.

perishing everlasting, unless the article of the Trinity be believed as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained.¹

Taylor prefers to leave the sentence of condemnation to Christ the Judge of all men.

A man may maintain an opinion that is in itself damnable, and yet he, not knowing it so and being invincibly led into it, may go to heaven ; his opinions shall burn, and himself be saved.²

He finds no fault with the truths the Athanasian Creed enshrines but he repeats :—

No opinions in scripture are called damnable but what are impious *in materia practica*, or directly destructive of the faith, or the body of christianity.³

Thus far Taylor has considered the nature of faith and heresy. The Apostles' Creed contains the faith entire ; heresy is the negation of faith and a good life. He next distinguishes opinions from articles of faith. The fundamental truths necessary to salvation are clearly revealed in 'the plain places of Scripture,' which a man cannot mistake except through his own fault ; but in the Scriptures 'are innumerable places, containing in them great mysteries, but yet either so inwrapped with a cloud, or so darkened with umbrages or heightened with expressions . . . that God may seem to have left them as trials of our industry.'⁴

It is an integral part of Taylor's main argument to prove that in these difficult places there can be no certainty of interpretation. This he argues and illustrates at great length ; he considers the difficulty arising from variant readings ; whether such passages are to be expounded literally or symbolically ; he examines the

¹ p. 405.

² p. 406.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ p. 410.

rules adopted by commentators, but these do not arrive at certitude and should not be 'too confidently and magisterially imposed on others.' There is indeed no infallible rule, so Taylor concludes, and therefore in these 'dark places' each man is entitled to his own opinion, but no man may enforce his own interpretation upon others:—

God having in things not simply necessary left such a difficulty upon those parts of scripture which are the subject matters of controversy . . . that all that err honestly are therefore to be pitied and tolerated, because it is or may be the condition of every man at one time or other.¹

The claim of tradition to expound with unerring certainty doctrinal difficulties is next examined; but Taylor can find here no infallible guide; on the contrary the Fathers themselves were 'infinitely deceived' in their enumeration of traditions. Thus Papias professed to have received a tradition from the Apostles that Christ should reign on earth a thousand years before the day of judgment and, 'this thing proceeding from so great an authority as the testimony of Papias, drew after it all or most of the Christians in the first three hundred years.'² If the reports of traditions in the ages so near apostolic times were false, then the uncertainty has much increased since, 'because every age, and every great change, and every heresy, and every interest, hath increased the difficulty of finding out true traditions.'³

The reader acquainted with Taylor's writings will readily understand that it is not his purpose to discredit or underestimate the evidential value of tradition; he appeals to it again and again; but he here argues that

¹ p. 427.

² p. 429.

³ p. 432.

only those traditions can be urged for the establishment of a doctrine which have been received from all the 'churches apostolical'. But in no case is tradition a sufficient guide to controversial questions in the seventeenth or—he would have added—the twentieth century:—

To dispute concerning the truth or necessity of traditions in the questions of our times, is as if historians, disputing about a question in the English story, should fall on wrangling whether Livy or Plutarch were the best writers.¹

A theological opinion therefore, which depends for its orthodoxy entirely and exclusively upon tradition, while it may be held tenaciously by individuals, cannot be imposed upon others with 'any imperiousness or resolved determination'; still less may those who reject such an opinion be condemned as heretical; hence in all such questions the liberty of prophesying must be preserved whole and entire.

Having thus disposed of tradition as an infallible test of those points of doctrine on which Scripture has not plainly spoken, Taylor proceeds to discuss the 'insufficiency of councils to determine controversies.' Here again it is important to observe that the argument is not directed against the *rationale* of councils, but on the contrary he says:—

The Spirit of God hath directed us by that great precedent at Jerusalem, to address ourselves to the church, that in a plenary council and assembly she may synodically determine controversies.²

He will not allow, however, that a council is infallible in its decisions, for these he argues are partly dependent upon the motive that inspires the council, and partly upon the character of those of whom it is composed.³ If

¹ p. 439.

² p. 442.

³ *Vide* Swete, *The Holy Catholic Church*, p. 55ff.

all councils had exhibited the same moral and spiritual earnestness as the first, and had all bishops been actuated by the same purity of intention as the Apostles, then Taylor argues the decisions formulated and promulgated would be binding upon all; but councils are tied to conditions which must be observed if their decisions are to be true; they have no magical infallibility. The real point therefore is whether these conditions have been faithfully adhered to. The first four General Councils fulfilled their functions, so Taylor thinks, in a way the succeeding ones did not; but the guidance of the Holy Spirit is only assured to just and holy men. The decisions of a council are therefore dependent upon the motive and temper of those who compose it, and they are doomed to failure if they are concerned with questions 'to satisfy contentious, or curious, or presumptuous spirits.'¹

Taylor elaborates this part of his argument at great length, because he had in view the claim made by the Roman Church that her councils, irrespective of their motive, could not fail. That his line of reasoning is dangerously 'subjective', as such pragmatist arguments invariably are, must already have occurred to the reader, but his position is impregnable when he asserts that councils must apply, as the supreme test of doctrine, the clear verdict of Holy Scripture, and he goes so far as to consider it legitimate to recede from the decrees of a council which has failed to observe this fundamental condition. Thus Constance in defiance of the Scriptural account of the Eucharist decreed Communion in one kind; and Trent in insisting upon the public offices of the Church being in Latin 'offends,' says Taylor, 'against

¹ This section should be compared with Article xxi. *Book of Common Prayer.*

14th chapter of Corinthians.' General Councils and National Councils, he concludes, while excellent guides have not, in their nature, sufficient weight or authority to restrain liberty.

The discussion on the infallibility of councils naturally leads Taylor to pass some observations upon the alleged infallibility of the Pope, who being above all councils, 'the universal and infallible doctor breathes decrees as oracles.' The rule of faith then becomes extremely simple; it is conformity with the chair of St. Peter. 'If this prove true,' he says, 'we are well enough; but if it be false or uncertain, it were better we had still kept our liberty than be cozened out of it with gay pretences.'¹ Taylor can find no promise of infallibility in our Lord's commission to St. Peter; but, on the other hand, it is evident that 'the good man fell foully, and denied his Master shamefully,' and 'if he had but withstood any of them to their faces, as St. Paul did him, it had been more than yet is said in his behalf.'² It is further significant that at the Council of Jerusalem it was not St. Peter but St. James who gave the final sentence. Again, if the Popes are infallible how are their contradictory decrees to be explained? Taylor quotes against the Roman controversialists one of their own writers—Bellarmine, who stated that for one thousand years the doctrine of Papal infallibility was unknown. Clearly then it could not claim the sanction of the primitive Church; and more than one Pope was himself heretical but *ipso facto* was no longer Pope, 'and so when you think you have him fast, he is gone, and nothing of the pope left.'³

Tradition and councils being unable to determine infallibly theological controversy, Taylor has little difficulty

¹ p. 462.

² p. 471.

³ p. 479.

in demonstrating that the opinions of the Fathers cannot be regarded as decisive. Indeed so diverse and contradictory is their teaching, on the state of the dead, post-baptismal sin, communicating infants, etc., that it is a truism they may be quoted to prove almost anything. It is surely erroneous to attribute to them an infallibility which they did not claim, nor yet was reckoned to them in their own age, and neither must the antiquity of their writings blind men to their errors and humanity. When treating of the cardinal truths of Christianity, Taylor thinks they may be safely followed but their opinions in other matters are not binding, and they cannot be urged as restraining the liberty of prophesying.

Taylor continues this process of exhaustion to its logical conclusion. 'The Church Diffusive,' that is 'the Church in all its sects and divisions,' as contrasted with the body which speaks authoritatively through Councils or Fathers or Tradition, is equally incompetent of passing judgment. He is thus driven to the conclusion that on all points of controversy the authority of reason is most decisive, and each must be trusted to judge for himself. The indispensable qualification for this sacred obligation is not intellectual ability or dialectical skill, but primarily sincerity and honesty of purpose. It is preferable for a man to follow his own reason than to place unbounded confidence in a spiritual guide; for Taylor truly remarks, if he chooses the latter course and allows another to think and judge for him, he may do violence to his own understanding and thus forfeit the benefit which would result from his own deliberate judgment. Hence individual reflexion becomes a plain duty incumbent upon all; its neglect inevitably leads to the 'reprobate and undiscerning mind.' 'No man,' says Taylor, 'speaks more unreasonably than he that denies to men

the use of their reason in choice of their religion.¹ He is not here opposing reason to authority, but on the contrary he readily admits that human authority may be extremely weighty, and it is reasonable for men to follow it—but not blindly; it may be equally reasonable for men to oppose or reject it. God requires above all things free obedience.

What does Taylor mean by ‘ reason ’? It is clear that he is not thinking of an intellectual or cognitive faculty only. ‘ I do not mean a distinct topic, but a transcendent that runs through all topics.’ The reason that men are to employ is not a narrow ratiocinative faculty, nor indeed a faculty at all, but the whole personality—thought, will, feeling—illumined by the Holy Spirit. From this it follows that integrity of purpose and purity of heart are more vital to the discovery of truth than intellectual capacity. The foundations of faith God has clearly revealed; in all other matters the surest guide is reason.

We are left to our liberty to judge that way that makes best demonstration of our piety and of our love to God.²

Taylor’s ‘ pragmatism ’ is further evident in his discussion of errors which are inculpable; he refuses to separate reason from the person who reasons; and the prime consideration is as stated above, integrity of purpose. Thus a man’s reasoning may be biassed or defective; but where a wrong reason is entertained, not being due to negligence or moral taint, ‘ the person is to be pitied not condemned.’ This line of argument is precisely the same as that pursued by him in his treatment of the nature of faith and heresy. Again he asserts that in a pious person error is always innocent.

¹ p. 498.

² p. 499.

If ever an opinion be begun with pride or managed with impiety, or ends in a crime, the man turns heretic: but let the error be never so great, so it be not against an article of creed, if it be simple and hath no confederation with the personal iniquity of the man, the opinion is as innocent as the person, though perhaps as false as he is ignorant, and therefore shall burn though he himself escape.¹

Again and more explicitly Taylor states his view of heresy:—

A man cannot by human judgment be concluded a heretic, unless his opinion be an open recession from plain demonstrative divine authority (which must needs be notorious, voluntary, vincible, and criminal).²

Thus, laboriously perhaps, Taylor has prepared the way for the practical consideration which fills the second part of this work. ‘What is to be our deportment towards people disagreeing, when we are convinced they are in error?’ At once he lays down a general rule:—‘No Christian is to be put to death, dismembered, or otherwise directly persecuted for his opinion, which does not teach impiety or blasphemy.’³ But if an opinion teaches or encourages crime then the person is to be punished, as well as those who actually commit crime. Here it is important to notice that Taylor by no means teaches universal toleration; his conception is limited by his view of what constitutes ‘crime’; and it is clear that for him ‘crime’ is intimately bound up with disloyalty to the King.

He that writes treason in a book, or preaches sedition in a pulpit, and persuades it to the people, is the greatest traitor and incendiary, and his opinion there is the fountain of a sin.⁴

¹ p. 511.

² p. 514.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ p. 515.

Except, however, for criminal opinions persecution is condemned because it invariably defeats its own end :—

There arises a jealousy and pregnant suspicion that they who persecute an opinion are destitute of sufficient arguments to confute it, and that the hangman is the best disputant. . . . And therefore besides the impiety, there is great imprudence in canonizing a heretic, and consecrating an error by such means which were better preserved as encouragements of truth and comforts to real and true martyrs.¹

Persecution too is irrational because the understanding being spiritual it cannot be restrained or coerced by corporal affliction.

You may as well cure the colic by brushing a man's clothes, or fill a man's belly with a syllogism.²

Again, the eradication of false opinions cannot be effected by an appeal to force ; the latter may produce a hypocrite but never an orthodox Christian, for 'it teaches a man to dissemble and to be safe, but never to be honest.' This then is Taylor's powerful plea against the iniquity of persecution. Pursued to its logical extremity it would have carried him much farther than he was prepared to go ; but the centuries that have passed away since Taylor set powerfully in motion his argument have learned, slowly indeed, to appreciate and act upon its truth, and through so doing]the political and religious life of this nation, and of many others, has been transformed.

For Taylor, however, this was no new truth ; it was simply a fresh proclamation of the practice he finds observed by the Christian Church in the earliest and purest ages. In the New Testament heretics were censured spiritually, and no apostolic tradition sanctions persecution, still less punishment by death. Bellarmine

¹ p. 521.

² p. 522.

had argued that since excommunication is a more terrible punishment than death 'therefore whoever may be excommunicated may also be put to death,' but Taylor rightly rejects both the premise and conclusion. Excommunication is a medicine, and the ban may be removed; but death is irrevocable. It is not that Taylor does not fully appreciate the spiritual value of excommunication—he does:—'the pains of hell are made presential' to the offender; but this awful as it is, must be placed in a different category from taking a man's life. The early Church did indeed excommunicate, but it did not lay violent hands upon opponents.

The church was against destroying or punishing difference in opinion, till the popes of Rome did superseminate and persuade the contrary.¹

There is a punishment proper to heresy; its teachers must be silenced by spiritual means, by sound doctrine, and restrained by ecclesiastical authority, but this last may err and then its censure will be ineffectual.

If a person be excommunicate unjustly, it will do him no hurt; but if he be killed or dismembered unjustly, that censure and infliction is not made ineffectual by his innocence, he is certainly killed and dismembered.²

Excommunication is the Church's proper weapon for eradicating heresy; but it is to be sparingly used lest the Church become tyrannical. As the Church must learn to be tolerant so too the prince is 'to tolerate diversity of persuasions as he is to tolerate public actions.' No opinion is judicable by the prince except it result in sin, and then the offender is to be punished. Here Taylor would seem to be confusing sin and crime, or rather he uses the terms indiscriminately. His

¹ p. 530.

² p. 532.

argument is that if erroneous opinions do not result in criminal offences, then they are to be left to the judgment of God, and are not judicable by any human authority.

But I consider that in the toleration of a different opinion, religion is not properly and immediately concerned, so as in any degree to be endangered. For it may be safe in diversity of persuasions; and it is also a part of christian religion, that the liberty of men's consciences should be preserved in all things where God hath not set a limit and made a restraint; that the soul of man should be free, and acknowledge no master but Jesus Christ.¹

Taylor, however, while thus pleading for the liberty of conscience, does not sanction an individualism which in the name of conscience defies the State. On the contrary, he always keeps in view the stability and well-being of the community, and it is upon this ground that he urges the necessity of tolerating or restraining opinions; thus the prince is bound to forbid the spread of teaching which is subversive of government. The liberty of conscience for which Taylor pleads is not anarchy.

Step by step the argument has thus been narrowed down until Taylor is in a position to consider what attitude should be taken towards the Anabaptists and Papists, 'who are most troublesome and most disliked.' He endeavours to draw up a plea for both sides stating the arguments for and against with an impartiality, which did not find general acceptance with his brethren. In the case of the Anabaptists he concentrates upon two points; their objections to infant baptism, and to the 'magistracy'. It is not necessary to enumerate here

¹ p. 534.

the arguments he advances against the Anabaptists ; what is of chief interest is his conclusion :—

I do not think the anabaptists perceive or think these things to follow from their doctrine, but yet they do so really : and therefore the effect of this is that their doctrine is wholly to be reproved and disavowed, but the men are to be treated with the usages of a Christian ; strike them not as an enemy, but exhort them as brethren. They are with all means christian and humane to be redargued or instructed : but if they cannot be persuaded, they must be left to God.¹

The doctrines of the Church of Rome are next examined ; they are tested not by an absolute standard of truth, but by their fruits. It is true that the Apostles' Creed was firmly held, but :—

In no sect of men do they with more ease and cheapness reconcile a wicked life with the hopes of heaven, than in the Roman communion.²

This is a severe verdict ; but Taylor had ample opportunities of observing the effect of Roman teaching upon character. He does not on this occasion challenge their doctrines upon intellectual or Scriptural grounds, but applies the pragmatic test ; does their faith promote or impede good living and loyal citizenship ? The latter consideration is for him of immense importance ; for whatever sanctions sedition or treason cannot be tolerated. Much of their teaching is condemned upon this ground, notably their belief that an heretical prince might be put to death. If a person holding opinions such as these keep quiet then :—‘ No man is to persecute or punish him . . . but if he preaches it, he is actually a traitor, or seditious, or author of perjury, or a destroyer of human society,’³ and as such he is liable to punishment. In all speculative opinions, however, which do not undermine morality, or threaten the welfare of

¹ pp. 588-9.

² p. 594.

³ p. 595.

society, the proper authority to pass judgment is the ecclesiastical and not the civil court.

Taylor would therefore extend toleration to Anabaptists and Papists, provided they did not become a danger to the State ; but the stability of the Commonwealth is his first consideration.

Let the prince and the secular power have a care the commonwealth be safe : for whether such or such a sect of Christians be to be permitted is a question rather political than religious.¹

Lastly, churches are bound to allow communion to all those of the same faith ; there may be differences of opinion but it is wrong :—

To deny to communicate with those with whom God will vouchsafe to be united, and to refuse our charity to those who have the same faith.²

By this Taylor means that all Christians holding the Apostles' Creed should live in mutual toleration of each other ; and this apparently is all he intends 'communion' to imply. He does not advocate 'inter-communion' in the modern sense :—that there should be interchange of pulpits on the part of Anglicans and Nonconformists, or that the Eucharist should be offered to those who have not conformed with the discipline of the Church of England. Thus he clearly states :—

As for the duty of particular men in the question of communicating with churches of different persuasions, it is to be regulated according to the laws of those churches.³

Toleration is to be extended to all who hold the Apostles' Creed as the summary of the Christian Faith ; but inter-communion, either in worship or sacraments, he recognizes to be impracticable, because of the laws which obtain to the particular churches. It is true that

¹ p. 600.

² p. 601.

³ p. 602.

he deplores the multiplying of confessions of faith and articles, because they become the ‘instruments of separation;’ and he pleads for the acceptance of the Apostles’ Creed as all-sufficient; but he does not ignore the disciplinary measures a church may rightly take, in order to guard its altars and its worship against those unwilling to submit. Moreover, it must not be forgotten, that it was Taylor’s profound conviction that the validity of the sacraments was dependent upon an episcopally ordained ministry.

The *Liberty of Prophesying* closes with a remarkable story found says Taylor in ‘the Jews’ books,’ but which Gentius, from whom Taylor borrowed it, attributed to the Persian poet Saadi.

When Abraham sat at his tent-door, according to his custom, waiting to entertain strangers; he espied an old man stooping and leaning on his staff, weary with age and travel, coming towards him, who was a hundred years of age. He received him kindly, washed his feet, provided supper, caused him to sit down; but observing that the old man eat and prayed not, nor begged for a blessing on his meat, he asked him why he did not worship the God of heaven: the old man told him that he worshipped the fire only, and acknowledged no other god; at which answer Abraham grew so zealously angry that he thrust the old man out of his tent, and exposed him to all the evils of the night and an unguarded condition. When the old man was gone, God called to Abraham, and asked him where the stranger was; he replied, ‘I thrust him away because he did not worship Thee:’ God answered him, ‘I have suffered him these hundred years, although he dishonoured Me, and couldst not thou endure him one night when he gave thee no trouble?’ ‘Upon this,’ saith the story, ‘Abraham fetched him back again and gave him hospitable entertainment and wise instruction.’ Go thou and do likewise, and thy charity will be rewarded by the God of Abraham.¹

¹ pp. 604-5.

How was the *Liberty of Prophesying* received? The King, at this time at Caversham, read the book, but disliked Taylor's handling of the Anabaptists' arguments. He therefore instructed Dr. Hammond to reply, who in his *Letter of Resolution* embodied Charles' objections. The most violent attack, however, came from Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity in the University of St. Andrews. In 1649 he published *A Free Disputation against Pretended Liberty of Conscience*; this work, ignored alike by Taylor and Milton, was a thorough-going defence of persecution.

Some have been inclined to think that the *Liberty of Prophesying* was a special plea for the Church of England when in peril of annihilation. Others again have found it an insuperable difficulty to reconcile the lofty principles enunciated in this work with Taylor's subsequent career as Bishop. Thus Orme in his *Life of Owen*:—

It deserves to be viewed therefore as the special pleading of a party counsellor, or the production of Jeremy Taylor deprived of his benefice and the privileges of his profession, imploring relief; of which Bishop Taylor enlightened by the elevation of his episcopate, and enjoying with the party, security and abundance, became ashamed, and, in his own conduct, published the most effectual recantation of his former opinions or sincerity.¹

And the Editor of *A True Narrative*:—

The author of the *Liberty of Prophesying* no sooner became a Lord Spiritual than he seemed to be another man.²

That Taylor's episcopate was a failure he admits himself; but his treatment of the refractory ministers is not inconsistent with the position he maintains in the *Liberty of Prophesying*. The Presbyterians if they were to exercise any spiritual office in his diocese were to obey

¹ p. 102.

² p. 31.

the law; if they did anything contrary to the law they 'would smart for it.' This was an ugly threat perhaps, and as they refused to conform they were ejected. But with equal emphasis Taylor insists, in the *Liberty of Prophesying*, that all things must be done 'according to the laws of those churches,' and nothing that is 'unlawful'. That Taylor was sometimes irritable and hasty seems more than likely; but that his views on toleration remained substantially the same may be judged from a reading of the *Via Intelligentæ*, a sermon preached before the University of Dublin in 1662; and finally, the legend¹ that Taylor when Bishop ordered all the copies of the *Liberty of Prophesying* to be burned, seems incredible, since the book appears in the second edition of his Controversial Works, published while he was actually Bishop.

¹ Nichols' *Illustrations of Lit. Hist.*, vii, 464.

CHAPTER IV

SIN AND REPENTANCE

THE *Unum Necessarium* published in the autumn of 1655 damaged profoundly Taylor's reputation as a theologian. It raised a storm of controversy which left him under suspicion for the rest of his life, and unfortunately his innocent tactlessness deprived him of some of his best friends just when he stood most in need of them. The events attending the publication of the work have a peculiar, if pathetic interest. Taylor was a prisoner in Chepstow Castle when Royston his publisher sent some of the proof sheets of the *Unum Necessarium* to Brian Dupp^a, Bishop of Salisbury. The Bishop, familiar with Taylor's intention of writing a substantial volume on moral theology, read the papers dispatched to him with amazement and alarm; for it was evident to Dupp^a that Taylor had attacked deliberately and in detail the doctrine of Original Sin, but what was still more disconcerting, the offending volume was dedicated to him and John Warner, Bishop of Rochester. Brian Dupp^a was indignant and feared the effect of such teaching upon 'his poor desolate mother, the Church.' He therefore wrote a sharp letter to Taylor in the hope that the book might not be published. But it was; and to the consternation of Dupp^a and Warner, one of the dedicatory letters was addressed to them and to the clergy of the Church of England.

The first letter introducing the *Unum Necessarium* is inscribed to the Earl of Carbery and dwells upon the importance of repentance; the second, already mentioned,

is a weighty indictment of the neglect into which moral theology had fallen. Many of the clergy, Taylor complains, 'rush into holy orders without just abilities,' and are lacking in those studies most necessary for spiritual directors. To the learning and devotion of the Church of England Taylor pays a fine tribute, but he deplores the great scarcity of books on moral theology; and since none of his brethren seemed able or willing to make good this grave deficiency he puts his 'weak hand to this work, rather than it should not be done at all.' The neglect of moral theology was not, however, the only or indeed the greatest evil. Taylor was at this time engaged in collecting and sifting material for the *Ductor Dubitantium*, and his labours had convinced him that some of the principles commonly accepted by casuists were fundamentally erroneous, and so far from encouraging a holy life were positively harmful. Hence it is Taylor's purpose in the *Unum Necessarium* to show the falsity of these principles, 'for if it be no matter how men live, and if the hopes of heaven can well stand with a wicked life, there is nothing in the world more unnecessary than to enquire after cases of conscience.'¹

The first necessity, therefore, for a right understanding of the doctrine of repentance is a sense of sin, which Taylor finds strangely lacking in the books of his day. The shallow optimism which argues that a man can no more fear God's anger for being inclined to sin than for being hungry or miserable, or being born a sinner cannot escape the fruits of his nature, or again, the liberty that men have is nothing but a liberty to sin—a line of argument as common in the twentieth as in the seventeenth century,—is fittingly condemned; for deter-

¹ vii, 9.

minism such as this, makes sin ‘a pious fiction,’ and repentance is evacuated of all moral and spiritual value. Again, Taylor was amazed and distressed at the numerous grounds of hope held out to the sinner upon the ‘merest trifles.’ It is his purpose therefore to undermine these dangerous assumptions, in the hope of stimulating a genuine sense of sin, and thus rescuing the doctrine of repentance from the formalism and unspiritual mechanism into which it had degenerated. He urges upon his brethren the duty of producing

so much fear and reverence, caution and wariness in all their penitents, that they should be willing to undergo more severe methods in their restitution than now they do : that men should not dare to approach to the holy sacrament as soon as ever their foul hands are wet with a drop of holy rain ; but that they should expect the periods of life, and when they have given to their curate fair testimony of a hearty repentance, and know it to be so within themselves, they may with comfort to all parties communicate with holiness and joy.¹

The following passage is well worth quoting, since it contains some directions for ‘religious curates’ who exercise the ministry of reconciliation.

We would apply ourselves to understand the secrets of religion, the measures of the spirit, the conduct of souls, the advantages and disadvantages of things and persons, the ways of life and death, the labyrinths of temptation, and all the remedies of sin, the public and private, the great and little lines of conscience, and all those ways by which men may be assisted and promoted in the ways of godliness ; for such knowledge as it is most difficult and secret, untaught and unregarded ; so it is most necessary, and for want of it, the holy sacrament of the eucharist is oftentimes given to them that are in the gall of bitterness ; ‘that which is holy is given to dogs.’²

¹ p. 15.

² p. 16.

In thus offering advice to others Taylor was not speaking of things he did not know, but his own experience in reconciling penitents had taught him, as he says, something of the secret of souls. So much then for the letter to the Bishops and clergy ; it is severe in tone and marked by deep moral earnestness, and in these respects is a fitting introduction to the work that follows.

Taylor opens the *Unum Necessarium* with an examination of the foundation principles of repentance. His line of argument is this :—When God created man, He made with him the Covenant of Works, the essence of which was absolute obedience, and its violation was death ; it left no room for repentance. Gradually this Covenant became more and more oppressive ; for not only was ‘man’s fortune broken and his spirit troubled,’ but God multiplied commandments. It is true that in the Law of Moses ‘sacrifice and expiations were appointed for small sins ; but nothing at all for greater. Every great sin brought death infallibly.’¹ The underlying motive of the Covenant of Works was fear ; but it could not redeem because its fulfilment was impossible. Hence there was need of another and better covenant, that of mercy through Jesus Christ, which God made with man immediately after Adam’s fall. The Covenant of Works had fulfilled its function ; it made men humble, ‘needing mercy, begging grace, longing for a Saviour, relying upon a better covenant, waiting for better promises, praying for the spirit of grace, repenting of our sins, deplored our infirmities, and justified by faith in the promises of God.’² This then is the Covenant of Repentance through the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, which always ‘ministered to man’s need in the secret

¹ p. 22.

² p. 24.

economy of God, but proclaimed to all the world at the revelation of God incarnate, the first day of our Lord Jesus.'¹

If, however, the righteousness of the Law were utterly unattainable, is the righteousness of Christ easier, since its demands are greater? If the Mosaic Law were impossible of perfect obedience, then how much more so is the Law of Christ? In dealing with these questions, while dwelling upon man's natural weakness and imperfection, Taylor points out that in the positive precepts of the Gospel 'the measure is to love God with all our faculties and degrees,' and in the negative, 'not to lust or desire;' evangelical perfection does not, therefore, consist in the outward observance of the Law, but in the right disposition of man to God. Thus considered, the commandments of the Gospel do not make demands which man cannot satisfy, because God does not exact more than is humanly possible; and further there is provided a means of reconciliation, the Covenant of Repentance, for the restoration of penitents. Thus relying upon the grace of God man's duty is to do his utmost, and so the commandments become more possible of a perfect obedience until in 'the progressions of a long piety sin is more impossible than duty is.' Perfection the Christian goal can only be fully realized hereafter; but there is also a perfection proper to this life, which can be attained by those whose religion 'is not mingled with interest,' and whose minds are 'readily prepared to every good work.' 'It supposes a beginning, an infant grace, progression and variety, watchfulness and fear, trembling fear. And there are many graces required of us, whose material and formal part is repentance: such as

¹ p. 25.

are mortification, penitential sorrow, spiritual mourning, patience'.¹ Repentance is therefore the divinely appointed means, whereby perfection is made possible of attainment.

The sum of all is this: the state of regeneration is perfection all the way, even when it is imperfect [in its degrees]. The whole state of a Christian's life is a state of perfection: sincerity is the formality or the soul of it; a hearty constant endeavour is the body or material part of it; and the mercies of God accepting it in Christ, and assisting and promoting it by His spirit of grace, is the third part of its constitution, it is the spirit.²

Having thus described and contrasted the two Covenants, Taylor examines the nature of repentance, first enquiring into the meaning of the two words *μεταμέλεια* and *μετάνοια*, which he observes are used promiscuously in the New Testament to indicate a radical change of state and life;—a turning from sin and conversion to God. This spiritual change is often accompanied by sorrow, which while it is one of the parts of repentance is sometimes 'mistaken for the whole state, and we account ourselves perfect penitents, if we have only wept a penitential shower'.³ He next considers the force of the words *pænitentia* and *resipiscentia*; the interpretation of the former as equivalent 'to doing penance' in an afflictive sense, he rejects; and in Taylor's opinion *resipiscentia* expresses more exactly the Greek *μετάνοια*, as a 'recovery of the mind'. But for his own definition of repentance he seizes upon some striking phrases from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, which describe repentance as primarily a reconciliation, a renewing, and a new creation, as opposed to sorrow, contrition, confession, amends, etc., which are

¹ p. 41.

² p. 44.

³ p. 62.

the fruits, but not of the nature of repentance. In short he summarizes repentance as a turning 'from darkness to light, from the power of Satan unto God.'

Taylor's examination of the nature of repentance and its practical bearing upon life, is admirably and clearly expressed; but his chief concern, as has already been noticed, was to undermine those false principles which tended to make repentance easy. One of these productive of much evil living, he finds in the distinction of mortal and venial sins, for which he can find no justification in Scripture, and to which he attributes the decline of religion and genuine repentance. He accuses the Roman casuists of calling what they please venial, and thus buoying up their penitents upon false hopes, and making havoc of their sense of sin. If a venial sin does not involve the loss of God's favour then 'you may do it again a thousand thousand times; and all the venial sins of the world put together, can never do what one mortal sin can, that is, make God to be your enemy: so Bellarmine expressly affirms.'¹ The danger attending this distinction was aggravated because causists were not agreed in their classification of sins, some calling that venial which others declared to be mortal with the inevitable result that 'the poor souls of the laity, and the vulgar clergy who believe what is told them by the authors or confessors they choose to follow, must needs be in infinite danger, and the whole body of practical divinity, in which the life of religion and of all our hopes depends, shall be rendered dangerous and uncertain, and their confidence shall betray them unto death.'² Thus Taylor is led to reject absolutely this distinction of sins and refuses to allow that any sin is venial in the sense that it may consist with the love or favour

¹ p. 84.

²p. 84.

of God. All sins are not of equal malignity ; they differ in principle and in the degree of affection with which they are committed ; but in any case it is not for man to pass judgment, this must rest with God alone. For his own part he accepts the verdict of St. Basil :—

One and the same sentence is against all sins ; our Lord saying, He that doth sin is the servant of sin ; . . . for this contumacy or disobedience does not consist in the difference of sins, but in the violation of the divine law ; and for that it is threatened with eternal pain.¹

Every sin is therefore mortal, and has in it the sting of death and ‘ therefore no sin must be despised as if it were little.’

The Roman casuists supported their distinction of sins into mortal and venial by an appeal to the Fathers ; but Taylor argues that ‘ venial ’ in the Fathers does not mean that certain sins are venial in their nature, but that after due repentance such sins are forgivable. As in the *Liberty of Prophecyng* so here, Taylor has chiefly in mind the practical bearing of the Roman teaching upon life ; and in his opinion a whole class of sins was ‘ allowed ’ to men ; repentance became mechanical since ‘ venial sins may be taken off, according to their doctrine, at as cheap a rate as they may be committed.’² This is repulsive to Taylor’s moral sense, and he insists that all sins, great or small must be duly repented of.

‘ Christ’s blood is the lavatory, and faith and repentance are the two hands that wash our souls white from the greatest and the least stains ; ’ but he adds, ‘ the same ingredients, but a less quantity possibly may make the medicine.’³

¹ p. 88

² p. 107.

³ p. 116.

Taylor's laudable desire to strip repentance of formalism and invest it with reality, and his repeated emphasis upon the need of a holy life, must not, however, be allowed to obscure the fact that in repudiating the distinction of mortal and venial sins, he parts company with the most distinguished writers on moral theology both of his own age and the present. For one of the *essential* distinctions of sin, as contrasted with *accidental*, is that of mortal and venial.¹ Further the grounds for such classification are to be found in the New Testament,² and the Litany of the *Book of Common Prayer* certainly expresses this distinction in the petition, 'From fornication and all other deadly sin.' But, on the other hand, it is true as Taylor alleges that casuists are not unanimous in their classifications of mortal and venial sins, and while this may have led to abuse and a serious weakening of the moral sense, yet it can scarcely be regarded as a sufficient argument against a distinction of sins which it is commonly agreed finds its roots in the New Testament.

Taylor, however, carefully distinguishes actual sins from sinful habits.³ The former, if deliberate, must be repented of immediately and separately; and the act of repentance should include a 'moral revocation' of the sin.

A general repentance will not serve the turn in these cases. When a man hath forgotten the particulars, he must

¹ Vide *The Moral Theology of the Sacrament of Penance*, W. W. Williams, pp. 174-99 and *Some Principles of Moral Theology*, K. E. Kirk.

² Rom. i. 32; 1 Cor. vi. 9; Eph. ii. 1; St. Jas. iii. 2; St. Matt. xii. 31, etc.

³ The four chief distinctions of sins in moral theology are original and personal; formal and material; habitual and actual; mortal and venial.

make it up as well as he can. This is the evil of a delayed repentance, it is a thousand to one but it is imperfect and lame, general and unactive . . . but if it be speedy, and particular, the remedy is the more easy, the more ready, and the more certain.¹

This quotation and Taylor's treatment of habitual sins prepare the way for his arguments against the validity of death-bed repentance, a subject to which he reverts again and again in his writings. A vicious habit, since it constitutes a state of direct hostility to God, has a guilt peculiar to itself, and therefore has need of a special kind of repentance which Taylor calls 'the introduction of the contrary ;' that is, the active pursuit of the virtue to which the habit is opposed. The current Roman teaching, on the other hand, was to the effect that a sinful habit could be pardoned by a single act of contrition ; this Taylor denies. On the contrary, the eradication of an evil habit requires 'a particular grace of God, and much industry, caution, watchfulness, frequent prayers, many advices and consultations, constancy, severe application : and is of so great difficulty and such slow progression, that all men who have had experience of this employment, and have heartily gone about to cure a vicious habit, know it is not a thing to be done upon our death-bed.'² The Christian life Taylor urges is one long round of penitence ; the best and surest hope therefore for a dying man is a holy life. He dismisses with no little vigour the Roman teaching that 'the continued sin of forty years may be washed off in less than forty minutes,' by an act of attrition together with the priestly absolution.

Forgiveness is a divine gift and nothing that man can do merits it. Yet nevertheless it is necessary to repen-

¹ p. 144.

² p. 178.

tance that 'the habit be retracted by a habit, that every wound may have its balsam, and every broken bone be bound up and redintegrate.'¹ An evil habit being the opposite to a state of holiness requires not an act of contrition only, but an habitual contrition; and the habitual pursuit of holiness which creates the right disposition for the reception of pardon. No man is fit for the Kingdom of God while sin reigns in his mortal body; and either sin or Christ must reign 'for a man cannot be a neuter in this war'; it is imperative therefore that the old evil habits should be destroyed and new ones introduced, dominated by the Spirit of Christ. This change is not accomplished in a moment, but it comes by 'many acts and much caution, and a long patience and a diligent observation, by watchfulness and labour.'

Now Taylor applies this argument to death-bed repentance; the dying person may by prayer and sorrow resolve to sin no more; but can he then, asks Taylor, perform that which is required of him by the Gospel?

Since therefore a constant innocence could not justify us unless we have the righteousness of God, that is, unless we superadd holiness and purity in the faith of Jesus Christ: much less can it be imagined that he who hath transgressed the righteousness of the law, and broken the negative precepts, and the natural human rectitude, and hath superinduced vices contrary to the righteousness of God, can ever hope to be justified by those little arrests of his sin, and his beginnings to leave it upon his death-bed, and his sorrow for it, then when he cannot obtain the righteousness of God, or the holiness of the gospel.²

'Be wise and begin betimes,' is Taylor's sound advice.

In *The Great Exemplar* (1649) Taylor develops the same theme at greater length.³ The mere resolve of a

¹ p. 179.

² p. 188.

³ ii, 379-2.

dying man, he says, to amend his life is not sufficient since no one 'was reconciled to God by good intentions.' In order to emphasize the extreme danger of postponing repentance after a vicious life to the death-bed, Taylor analyses the physical and mental condition of a dying person; all the circumstances are then against him; his mind is 'dull, stupid and lethargic'; 'the liberty of his will is impaired, his understanding is blinded, his appetite is mutinous.' His interior faculties are in a state of disorder. It is a graphic, if gloomy, picture that Taylor draws. On the one hand there are the inveterate evil habits to be mortified; on the other 'the many temptations of the devil, the strength of passions, the impotency of the flesh, the illusions of the spirits of darkness, the tremblings of the heart, the incogitancy of the mind, the implication and entanglings of ten thousand thoughts, and the impertinences of a disturbed fancy, and the great hindrances of a sick body, and a sad and weary spirit: all these represent a death-bed to be but an ill station for a penitent'.¹ And then there is uttered the terrible warning that God may shut His ears to the cries of those who throughout their lives have wilfully rejected Him. 'Can a man,' asks Taylor, 'live to the devil and die to God?'

The incident of the dying thief upon the cross unquestionably demonstrates that a death-bed repentance may, in rare and exceptional cases, be acceptable to God. Taylor refers to this in his sermon on *The Invalidity of a Late or Death-Bed Repentance*, in these words:—

But why not we be saved, as well as the thief upon the cross? Even because our case is nothing like. When Christ dies once more for us, we may look for such another instance; not till then. But this thief did but then come to Christ, he knew Him not before.²

¹ p. 383.

² iv, 406.

Taylor is well aware that exception will be taken to this doctrine ; and in the *Unum Necessarium* he anticipates the arguments that will be advanced against it, and answers them. Thus it might be asked whether God could not ‘infuse into us the habits of all the graces evangelical in an instant.’ To this it is answered that while the grace of God is ‘a supernatural principle,’ without which man cannot do God’s will, yet it is equally true that ‘God’s grace does not do our work without us.’ Further it is to be carefully noticed that Taylor does not state that the death-bed penitent is eternally lost.

The physician if he be a wise man will say, So far as he understands by the rule of his art, this man cannot recover ; but some secret causes of things there are, or may be, by which the event may be better than the most reasonable predictions of his art. The same answer I desire may be taken in the question of his soul ; concerning which the curate is to preach the rules and measures of God, but not to give a resolution concerning the secret and final sentence.¹

Taylor while uttering terrible warnings does not despair entirely of those who think that after a careless life, a death-bed repentance will suffice. God’s mercy is ever near at hand ; and as long as there is life there is hope ; and a life after this and ‘a hope proper to it,’ but in any case the final issue is with God Who ‘might do more than we know, and more than He has promised.’

He closes his examination of the validity of death-bed repentance with some advice to a dying penitent ; he is to probe his conscience most earnestly ; make a general confession of the sins of his whole life ; make what amends are possible and finally ‘if he can, let him do some great thing, something that does in one little body

¹ vii, 191.

of action signify great affections ; any heroical act, any transportation of a holy zeal in his case does help to abbreviate the work of many years.'¹ If these conditions are fulfilled then the Church ' can give the sacrament but cannot give security.'

The foregoing prepares the reader for Taylor's rejection of purgatory, even in a most modified form ; but here as so often, his anxiety to controvert false teaching leads him to the denial of that fragmentary truth which a false representation has obscured. Thus he finds no warrant in Holy Scripture that ' one-half can be done upon the death-bed,' and the other half when the person is in the grave. This is crudely expressed, and possibly had Taylor been living in the twentieth century, he would not have written these words. Similarly his conception of repentance causes him to reject and to speak almost flippantly of Extreme Unction—

Since it is used when the man is above half-dead, when he can exercise no act of understanding, it must needs be nothing ; for no rational man can think that any ceremony can make a spiritual change, without a spiritual act of him that is to be changed ; nor work by way of nature, or by charm, but morally, and after the manner of reasonable creatures.²

This line of argument would lead to a disavowal of the efficacy of infant baptism, which Taylor defends as strenuously as he rejects Extreme Unction.

Again, the prevalent abuses connected with prayers for the dead are made the ground of denying almost entirely the availing power of the prayers of holy people for the departed. He says in practice no rules can be given except ' the measures of charity ; ' ' but to think that any suppletory to an evil life can be taken from such devotions

¹ p. 231.

² iii, 261. Dedication to *Holy Dying*.

after the sinners are dead, may encourage a bad man to sin, but cannot relieve him when he hath.'¹

Chapter X of the *Unum Necessarium* is particularly interesting for therein Taylor considers the fruits of repentance—the remission of sin. First, however, he is at pains to show that Christ's sacrifice avails for all sins on all occasions, and therefore to confine pardon 'to the font,' he regards as 'an infinite lessening of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ.' Against this universalism he points out two objections:—the severer practice and doctrine of the primitive Church which denied forgiveness to certain 'great sins' after baptism; and the sin against the Holy Ghost. With reference to the first Taylor argues that idolatry, murder, adultery and such like were not regarded as in their nature unpardonable, but the primitive Church refused to pronounce absolution in these cases, in order to safeguard herself, since she was not fully cognisant of the malignity of every great sin; but if the sin was not pardoned, the person was left to the mercy of God. No sin, in its nature, is unforgivable, but Taylor urges that in the case of great sins it is wise for the curate 'not to be too easy in speaking peace;' for 'it is too great a confidence and presumption to dispense God's pardon, or the king's, upon easy terms, and without their commission.'²

In dealing with the sin against the Holy Ghost the passages in the New Testament which refer to it are examined, especially the well-known verses in the Epistle to the Hebrews.³ He concludes that the sin against the Holy Ghost must amount to a deliberate hatred of Christ, 'but this can no way be drawn to the condemnation and final excision of such persons who after baptism fall into

¹ iii, 263.

² p. 404.

³ Heb. vi. 4-6; x. 26.

any great sin of which they are willing to repent.¹ The sin against the Holy Ghost is a 'progression' and not at all stages unpardonable.

Thus Taylor has endeavoured to prove that all sins are forgivable after due repentance, and next he turns to Ecclesiastical Penance. He emphasizes again his fundamental contention that all life should be one round of penitence, but there are special acts which while they do not in themselves constitute repentance, are the fruits thereof. These are contrition, confession and satisfaction; 'exercises and blessed productions of repentance,' which may not be omitted except under rare contingencies. He treats of each in detail. First, contrition. In all repentance, he says, there is some element of sorrow which may arise either from the evil consequences of sin or from fear; but the true ground of sorrow is the clear recognition of the danger the sinner finds himself to be in; it is not therefore primarily a feeling, but is seated in the understanding; 'odium' rather than 'dolor'; it arises from a hatred of sin and is 'a nolition, a renouncing, and disclaiming it.' Contrition, godly sorrow, has its true basis therefore in hatred of sin; but emotional grief is not a necessary part, or consequence, of repentance.

To weep or not to weep is nothing to the duty of repentance, save only that it is that ordinary sign by which some men express some sort of sorrow. And therefore I understand not the meaning of that prayer of St. Austin, *Domine, da . . . gratiam lacrymarum*; for tears are no duty, and the greatest sorrow oftentimes is the driest.²

This is unquestionably sound teaching for it is a grave error to confine contrition to a feeling of sorrow; it includes not only a 'grief of mind on account of sin

¹ p. 405.

² p. 429.

committed,' but also 'a hatred of the sin, and the firm purpose of not sinning in the future.'¹ 'Sensitive sorrow' Taylor urges has a real significance when it expresses a genuine hatred of sin; but the absence of this feeling should not lead penitents to suspect their contrition.

In the following passage there is drawn out with admirable clearness the nature of contrition and attrition.

He that is attrite leaves his sin; but he that is contrite obeys God, and pursues the interests and acquests of virtue: so that contrition is not only a sorrow for having offended God, whom the penitent loves; that is but one act or effect of contrition; but contrition loves God and hates sin, it leaves this and adheres to Him, abstains from evil and does good, dies to sin and lives to righteousness, and is a state of pardon and acceptable services.²

Taylor is frequently quoted as a strenuous advocate of private confession, and occasionally, as one who believed in the sacrament of penance.³ As private confession and the sacrament of penance do not always bear the same meaning, it is important to observe what precisely Taylor teaches.

First he urges that confession 'is an act of repentance highly requisite to its perfection' and in Holy Scripture is sometimes identified with the whole act of repentance. When, however, confession signifies a special act it is due to God only.

He is the person injured, sin is the prevarication of His laws, He is our Judge, and He only can pardon, as He only can punish eternally.*

¹ W. W. Williams, *The Moral Theol. of Penance*, p. 28.

² p. 437.

³ e.g. A. H. Baverstock, *The Priest as Confessor*, Appendix C.

^{*} p. 440.

Confession is made to God in order that the penitent may condemn the sin ' bringing it forth to be crucified and killed.'

Taylor then turns to confession before men. He traces the history of the public confession of sins in the primitive Church when the bishop or one deputed by him ministered 'to the public satisfactions and amends.'¹ This practice, however, led to grave abuse and therefore one priest was appointed 'to hear the cases and receive the addresses of the penitents.'² How private confession arose is thus explained :—

And this also changed into the more private; and by several steps of progression dwindled away into private repentance towards men, that is, confession to a priest in private, and private satisfactions, or amends and fruits of repentance: and now auricular confession is nothing else but the public *exomologesis* or repentance ecclesiastical, reduced to ashes; it is the relics of that excellent discipline which was in some cases necessary and in very many cases useful, until by the dissolution of manners, and the extinction of charity it became unsufferable, and a bigger scandal than those which it did intend to remedy. The result is this. That to enumerate our sins before the holy man that ministers in holy things, that is, confession to a priest, . . . is not necessary absolutely, and properly, in order to pardon; and therefore is no part of contrition, which without this may be a sufficient disposition towards pardon, unless by accident, as in the case of scandal, the criminal come to be obliged.³

From this quotation it is clear that in Taylor's opinion confession to a priest is not indispensable to pardon; elsewhere he refers to Chrysostom, Cassian and Laurentius of Novare to support his contention that there is no 'absolute necessity of the priest's right hand'; while in the opening pages of the *Unum Necessarium* he says 'it was neither fit that all should be

¹ p. 442.

² p. 445.

³ *Ibid.*

tied to it, nor yet that all should throw it off.'¹ In the Second Part of *A Dissuasive from Popery* he distinctly states that private confession is not a divine ordinance but a commandment of men.

The question then is, whether to confess all our greater sins to a priest, all that upon strict enquiry we can remember, be necessary to salvation? This the church of Rome now affirms; and this the church of England, and all protestant churches, deny; and complain sadly that the commandments of men are changed into the doctrines of God, by a pharisaical empire and superstition.²

In the same work he shows that private confession as a necessary article of faith is not found in Holy Scripture, but on the contrary there is ' very much to disprove it.' Our Lord was silent on the matter, and the passage commonly quoted in its support, ' Whosoever sins, etc.', has against it, says Taylor, ' all the canonists '.

But since there is no necessity declared in scripture of confessing all our sins to a priest, no mention of sacramental penance, or confession, it must needs seem strange that a doctrine of which there is no commandment in scripture, no direction for the manner of doing so difficult a work, no office or officer described to any such purpose; that a doctrine, I say, of which in the fountains of salvation there is no spring, should yet become in process of time to be the condition of salvation. And yet for preaching, praying, baptizing, communicating . . . we have in scripture three epistles written to two bishops, in which the episcopal office is abundantly described, and excellent canons established, and the parts of their duty enumerated: and yet no care taken about the office of ' father confessor '.³

This is a strong statement but it must be remembered that it occurs in a controversial work. It is difficult to reconcile it with the view generally expressed in the *Unum Necessarium*. Thus in the above passage Taylor

¹ p. 15.

² vi, 504.

³ p. 520.

says there is 'no office or officer described to any such purpose.' In the *Unum Necessarium*, on the other hand, he expressly states :—

And therefore He (Christ) hath appointed a whole order of men whom He maintains at His own charges, and furnishes with especial commissions, and endues with a lasting power, and employs on His own errand, and instructs with His own spirit, whose business is to remit and retain, to exhort and to restore sinners by the means of repentance, and the word of their proper ministry.¹

Taylor is a strong advocate of private confession, and speaks of those who 'carelessly and causelessly neglect it' as neither 'lovers of the peace of conscience, nor are careful for the advantages of their souls.'² Similar testimony to the spiritual value of private confession is abundant in the writings of Taylor's contemporaries :— Chillingworth, Ussher, Hall, Bramhall, Sanderson and Cosin ; but it is significant that nowhere does he speak of confession or repentance as the sacrament of penance except when referring to the Roman doctrine. He hesitates to attribute to the priest the office of 'judge' which is the essential function of the confessor in the tribunal of penance, and neither does he allow to the priest the power of absolving in any absolute sense.

The priest's proper power of absolving, that is, of pardoning, is a giving the penitent the means of eternal pardon, the admitting him to the sacraments of the church, and the peace and communion of the faithful ; because that is the only way really to obtain pardon of God.³

The distinctly priestly act is the celebrating of the Eucharist ; but the absolution given by the priest to the penitent 'can be nothing but declarative ; the office of the preacher and the guide of souls . . . this declarative

¹ vii, 391.

² p. 446.

³ p. 452.

absolution is only an act of preaching, or opening and reading the commission.'¹

Chapter VI of the *Unum Necessarium* should be enquired into most carefully by the reader since it had for Taylor disastrous results. He here treats of Concupiscence and Original Sin in a manner which called forth protests from all quarters. Dupper's disapproval took the form of a sharp letter to the author; and Warner wrote two letters, only one of which is extant, offering a criticism of Taylor's interpretation of St. Paul; but the most vigorous attacks were made by Presbyterians. John Earle answered Taylor's *Deus Justificatus* in 1657, but it was Henry Jeanes, a contemporary of Taylor's at Oxford, who proved himself by far the most formidable opponent; the controversy became objectionably personal, in which Taylor does not appear in an altogether favourable light.² The one convert was Evelyn; but nevertheless it was a great disaster as the blow came at a time when Taylor was most in need of friends.

In order to appreciate Taylor's position it is necessary to review briefly the conceptions of original sin held by the various schools of his day. The Tridentine theologians had asserted that at the Fall, Adam lost original righteousness so that 'the entire Adam, both soul and body, was changed for the worse;' and the corruption and sin of Adam were transmitted to his descendants, Taylor controverts this opinion.

Bellarmino, however, and some other Roman theologians taught, as did Taylor, that God in the beginning added original righteousness, which was thus a *donum superadditum*, but not an integral part of man's nature.

¹ pp. 457-8.

² For the Correspondence of Taylor and Jeanes, see vii, 571-86.

Taylor further agrees with those Roman theologians who held that the Fall involved the loss of a supernatural, but not of a natural gift, and that original sin is not truly and properly sin.

The Calvinistic teaching that original sin is ‘an hereditary pravity and corruption of human nature diffused through all the parts of the soul, rendering man obnoxious to the Divine wrath,’ was anathema to Taylor. The Arminian theory that Adam’s fall involved all his posterity who had been as it were shut up in his loins, is singled out for special attack ; but Taylor accepts the view of the Arminians that original sin is not properly sin, and repudiates, as they did, the affirmation that infants dying unbaptized would be damned.

This preliminary statement is sufficient to show that Taylor’s position was not entirely novel ; he drew from the various theological systems of his day just those elements which appealed most forcibly to him.

What then is Taylor’s teaching on original sin ? By the Fall Adam’s nature was not totally perverted, but he lost certain endowments which had been superadded. God brought upon him all that He had threatened :—the certainty of dying and ‘the proper effects and affections of mortality ;’ but no more. Man was thus reduced to the condition of his own nature : his ‘proper temper and constitution.’ What these *dona superaddita* were which Adam lost Taylor says he does not know ; but after his fall there is no indication that Adam was different from any other ‘common man,’ and in his natural state he could not attain to heaven :—

‘But,’ Taylor remarks, ‘concerning the sin of Adam, tragical things are spoken ; it destroyed his original righteousness, and lost it to us for ever ; it corrupted his nature, and corrupted ours, and brought upon him, and not him only, but on us also who thought of no such thing, an inevitable

necessity of sinning, making it as natural to us to sin as to be hungry, or to be sick and die ; and the consequent of these things is saddest of all, we are born enemies of God, sons of wrath, and heirs of eternal damnation.' ¹

Such terrible consequences as these Taylor denies. On the contrary he affirms that death which was natural to man, because of Adam's sin became a *punishment*, but even so it is not an inevitable consequent of man's fall, but becomes such through following Adam's 'vicious example.' Death being natural to all men is only a punishment to those who like Adam fall into sin ; but 'no man can perish for that which he was not guilty.'

Thus Taylor sums up this part of his argument :—

The sin of Adam did not 'debauch our nature by any natural efficiency of the sin itself, nor by our being in the loins of Adam, nor yet by any sentence or decree of God, we are not by Adam's sin made necessarily and naturally vicious, . . . and in scripture there is no signification of any corruption or depravation of our souls by Adam's sin.'²

Taylor was fully aware that this interpretation of original sin would be attacked and in anticipation he answers the objections which he knows will be raised. He examines the passages of Scripture commonly cited to prove the doctrine of original sin as implying an inherited corruption ; but all these refer, he says, to actual sin. He is not, however, altogether successful in his task. Thus, for instance, he comments upon St. Paul's affirmation that 'by nature we were the children of wrath.' 'True, we "were" so, when we were dead in sins, and before we were quickened by the Spirit of life and grace. We were so ; now we are not. We were so by our own unworthiness and filthy conversation ; now

¹ p. 244.

² pp. 262-3.

we being regenerated by the Spirit of holiness, we are alive unto God, and no longer heirs of wrath.'¹

What is the force of 'nature'? Taylor's explanation is surely inadequate, when he refuses to admit that it has any reference to 'birth or natural extraction,' but is equivalent to custom or evil habit, which having been acquired, cannot be said to be inherited from Adam. Indeed he has some very forcible remarks upon the doctrine of inherited sin :—

God never imputes the father's sin to the son or relative, formally making him guilty, or being angry with the innocent eternally. It were blasphemy to affirm so fierce and violent a cruelty of the most merciful Saviour and Father of mankind ; and it was yet never imagined or affirmed by any that I know of, that God did yet ever damn an innocent son, though the father were the vilest person and committed the greatest evils of the world, actually, personally, choosingly, and maliciously : and why it should by so many, and so confidently, be affirmed in a lesser instance, in so unequal a case, and at so long a distance, I cannot suspect any reason.²

Hence it is an outrage upon the love of God to affirm that He will continue to punish Adam in his posterity.

Now if the effect of Adam's sin was merely to reduce him and mankind to 'pure natus' but not to deprave human nature itself, how is the sin manifest in mankind to be accounted for? The doctrine of original sin, that is, that the sin of Adam is transmitted *per propaginem*, is at least a logical endeavour to explain a universal experience. Taylor himself feels the force of this argument and gives his own causes of the sinfulness of mankind. Adam fell because, having the power of choice, he chose evil and humanity has followed without exception his example. But why should Adam have chosen

¹ p. 266.

² p. 270.

evil, and why should humanity have followed in his steps? Taylor explains as follows:—

If God had been pleased to have promised to him the glories He hath promised to us, it is not to be supposed he had fallen so easily. But He did not, and so he fell, and all the world followed his example, and must upon this account, till it pleased God after He had tried the world with temporal promises, and found them also insufficient, to finish the work of His graciousness, and to cause us to be born anew by the revelations and promises of Jesus Christ.¹

This explanation directly attributes to God the cause of man's fall, and is entirely inadequate in accounting for the present sinfulness of the world. The exposition of original sin that Taylor gives need not surprise the careful reader of his other works. The germs of his teaching on this subject had already found some expression in *The Great Exemplar*.² In his anxiety to enforce repentance and a holy life, such stress is laid upon the freedom of the will, that Taylor inclined dangerously near Pelagianism. This was the charge brought against him by his opponents; but Taylor repudiated it and elaborated his argument still more fully in his *Further Explication of Original Sin*,³—with an address to Warner, Bishop of Rochester, in which he expounds the Ninth Article of the Church of England in accordance with his view—and in the *Deus Justificatus*.⁴

In some particulars Taylor's presentment of the doctrine of original sin approaches modern teaching upon the subject; but he had not thought out his whole position; his method of exegesis is sometimes amazingly superficial; but while the student of the twentieth century can easily pick holes in the logic of his argument

¹ p. 277.

³ vii, 301-40.

² ii, 101.

⁴ vii, 492-537.

Taylor's fearlessness and absolute sincerity call for admiration, and, as this unfortunate controversy is now reviewed, it seems clear that Taylor was not so far erroneous as his own generation deemed him to be.¹

¹ For discussion of Taylor's Doctrine of Original Sin, see Coleridge, *Literary Remains (Notes on Eng. Divines)* and *Aids to Reflection* (*Aphor.*, CIX. and seq.)

CHAPTER V

THE SACRAMENTS.¹

TAYLOR'S teaching on the two Gospel sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion is scattered throughout the ten volumes of his works. In this chapter, therefore, some attempt is made to present briefly but coherently the chief questions he discusses in treating of these sacraments.

In the *Worthy Communicant* there is an eloquent and lucid definition of what sacraments in their nature are :—

The sacraments and symbols, if they are considered in their nature, are just such as they seem, water, and bread, and wine ; they retain the names proper to their own natures ; but because they are made to be signs of a secret mystery, and water is the symbol of purification of the soul from sin, and bread and wine of Christ's body and blood, therefore the symbols and sacraments receive the names of what themselves do sign ; they are the body and they are the blood of Christ ; they are metonymically such. But because yet further ; they are instruments of grace in the hand of God, and by these His holy spirit changes our hearts and translates us into a

¹ Taylor applies the term 'sacrament' only to Baptism and Holy Communion. Of the other five 'commonly called sacraments,' Confirmation has been included in this chapter, Penance and Unction have been dealt with in the last. Taylor's teaching on Holy Matrimony is found in his sermon on *The Marriage Ring* (iv, 207) : 'Marriage is divine in its institution, sacred in its union, holy in the mystery, sacramental in its signification, honourable in its appellative, religious in its employments ; it is advantage to the societies of men, and it is "holiness to the Lord,"' *Ibid.* 212. Taylor says St. Paul was a widower, and Joseph had children by a former wife. Holy Orders is included in the chapter on *Episcopacy Asserted*.

divine nature: therefore the whole work is attributed to them by a synecdoche; that is, they do in their manner the work for which God ordained them, and they are placed there for our sakes, and speak God's language in our accent, and they appear in the outside; we receive the benefit of their ministry, and God receives the glory.¹

From this statement it might be inferred that Taylor limits the sacraments to two; but he expressly affirms that such is not the doctrine of the Church of England.

It is none of the doctrine of the church of England that there are two sacraments only, but that of those rituals commanded in scripture which the ecclesiastical use calls sacraments . . . 'two only' are 'generally necessary to salvation'.²

It is significant, however, that nowhere does Taylor employ the term sacrament except in reference to Baptism and to Holy Communion. Thus in the following passage from the *Great Exemplar* he interprets the water and blood which flowed from Christ's side as symbolical of the two sacraments:—

When the soldiers observed that Jesus was dead, one of them pierced His holy side with a spear; and the rock being smitten, it gushed out with water and blood, streaming forth two sacraments to refresh the church, and opening a gate that all His brethren might enter in, and dwell in the heart of God. . . . Thus the stream of blood issued out to become a fountain for the sacrament of the chalice, and water gushed out to fill the fonts of baptism. . . . The blood running upon us makes us to be of the cognation and family of God; and the water quenches the flames of hell, and the fires of concupiscence.³

A question of great moment for Taylor was whether the efficacy of the sacraments depends upon the worthiness of the minister. The Church of England has

¹ viii, 32.

² *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part II, vi, 422.

³ ii, 719-20.

declared her judgement so clearly on this matter in Article XXVI that it is a little surprising that Taylor reverts to this question again and again. Moreover the Catholic Church has always held that the unworthiness of the minister could not detract from the efficacy of the sacrament. It is true the Novatianists and Donatists erred in this article ; so did Arnold of Brescia, Wicliffe and Huss ; and Taylor himself, in urging the supreme need of a holy priesthood, sometimes uses language from which the inference might be drawn that the communicant is deprived of the means of grace because of the minister's unworthiness. Thus in his sermon on the *Return of Prayers* :—

'The Holy Ghost will not descend upon the mysteries when He is invoked by unholy hands and unsanctified lips'.¹ He further states that it is 'affirmed by the doctors of the Church' that those who communicate with a minister of a notoriously evil life are guilty of sin ; their communions are null and void ; their prayers are not heard. This view, however, does not express adequately Taylor's position. The source of sacramental grace is God and no man is to be denied it because of another's sin : 'if the people be holy,' he says, 'then their "Amen" will prevail,' and the benefit of the sacrament will be theirs. Nevertheless the unworthiness of the minister is a distraction and that is lost which could be conveyed 'by his part of the holy ministration ;' but the grace of the sacrament is independent of the minister :—

God will never exact the sacraments of us by the measures and proportions of an evil priest, but by the piety of the communicant, by the prayers of Christ and the mercies of God.²

¹ iv, 81.

² p. 82.

The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion since they have been ordained by Christ have the obligations of a Divine Law. They have been left perpetually to the Church who is to administer them, but the Church is free to decide what form of administration shall be used ; thus whether Baptism shall be by immersion or sprinkling, or whether in Holy Communion leavened or unleavened bread shall be used, or again by what words the elements are to be consecrated.¹ Since, however, according to Taylor's view there is no true Church without bishops, then neither can there be sacraments except there be duly ordained ministers.

These are some of the questions Taylor discusses with reference to the sacraments in general. Some account of his treatment of Baptism and the Holy Communion must now be given.

In the *Office Ministerial* there is discussed the validity of lay baptism, on which subject Taylor differs in some measure from the accepted teaching of the Church. He maintains that 'the ordinary minister of baptism is a person consecrated ;' and although the Church admits of lay baptism upon urgent necessity, Taylor is of opinion that the necessity being 'so great, excuses the sacrament itself.' These are his words :—

For my own particular, I wish we would make no more necessities than God made, but that we leave the administration of the sacraments to the manner of the first institution, and the clerical offices be kept within their cancels, that no lay hand may pretend a reason to usurp the sacred ministry.²

The right of administering Baptism belongs properly to the episcopate ; presbyters and deacons baptize in virtue of authority delegated to them by the bishop.

¹ ii, 274ff.

² i, 29.

Baptism by laymen, Taylor says, is valid, and is not therefore to be repeated, but they cannot '*jure ordinario* receive a leave or commission to make it lawful in them to baptize any ; presbyters and deacons may, for their order is a capacity or possibility.'¹

Taylor's fullest treatment of Baptism is found in the *Great Exemplar*. He first considers the types of Baptism, and observes that circumcision, although a forerunner, was not a type. For, strictly speaking, he argues, Baptism can have no type since it is itself but a type of a greater mystery. Circumcision might be regarded as 'a type of the effects and graces bestowed in baptism, yet of the baptism or ablution itself it cannot be properly, because of the unlikeness of the symbols and configurations, and because they are both equally distant from substances, which types are to consign and represent.'²

The origin of Baptism Taylor finds in the Jewish ceremony of initiating proselytes, and more immediately in the baptism of John. Christ thus took the Jewish rite

and changed it into a perpetual sacrament, . . . without change of the outward act, He put into it a new spirit, and gave it a new grace, and a proper efficacy ; He sublimed it to higher ends, and adorned it with stars of heaven ; He made it to signify greater mysteries, to convey greater blessings, to consign the bigger promises, to cleanse deeper than the skin, and to carry proselytes farther than the gates of the institution.³

With admirable clearness Taylor sets out the benefits of this sacrament ; it is the gate of the Church ; the sign of adoption into the mystical Body of Christ ; the

¹ *Episc. Asserted*, v, 154, cf. Hooker, Bk. V, Chapter lxi.

² ii, 230.

³ ii, 232.

believer is put into the order of eternal life. It is pre-eminently

a new birth by which we enter into the new world, the new creation, the blessings and spiritualities of the kingdom ; . . . for now we begin to be reckoned in a new census or account ; God has become our Father, Christ our elder Brother, the Spirit ‘the earnest of our inheritance,’ the church our mother ; our food is the body and blood of our Lord, faith is our learning, religion our employment, and our whole life is spiritual, and heaven the object of our hopes, and the mighty price of our high calling.¹

All sins are forgiven in baptism and pardon is assured for post-baptismal sins. Of its effect upon original sin he says :—

Original sin is remitted in baptism, by the consent of those schools of learning who teach this article, and therefore is not reserved for any other repentance.²

In considering the effects of Baptism upon the soul Taylor’s line of argument is the same as that pursued in the *Unum Necessarium*. Baptism is the ‘suppletory of original righteousness’ which Adam lost by his disobedience. The Holy Spirit ‘descends upon the waters of baptism,’ that men may attain that supernatural end for which God originally intended them. Their minds are illumined by ‘holy thoughts’ that they may perceive the secrets of the Kingdom of Heaven, and learn to despise the world of sin.

All these intermedial blessings tend to a glorious conclusion, for baptism does also consign us to a holy resurrection. It takes the sting of death from us by burying us together with Christ . . . and then we shall be partakers of a blessed resurrection.³

It was commonly held, Taylor says, that certain temporal blessings accompanied Baptism ; but he does

¹ ii, 234–5.

² *Unum Nec.*, vii, 284.

³ ii, 243.

not commit himself to this belief although he thinks it 'hugely probable' that at Baptism God assigns a guardian angel. There are some eloquent passages describing the fruits of Baptism, but the notion that Baptism has a magical efficacy is entirely repudiated, and its virtues 'pierce no farther than the skin, till the person puts off his affection to the sin that he hath contracted.'¹

Many other matters of absorbing interest are also discussed, as:—the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin, clinical baptism, the validity of heretical baptism and 'the absurd practice of being baptized for the dead.' But of greater importance than these are the numerous arguments he advances in support of infant baptism; these are to be found in the *Great Exemplar* and—with special reference to the Anabaptists—in the *Liberty of Prophesying*. His main argument may be briefly stated as follows:—Faith and repentance which are required for 'the ordinary susception of baptism,' are not of the essence of the sacrament but accidental to it. The first act is God's which 'is so wholly His own, that the man hath nothing in it but to entertain it, that is, not to hinder the work of God upon him.'² Since therefore children cannot hinder the grace of Christ, 'they receive it as all men ought; that is, without any impediment or obstruction.'³ The fact that the Scriptures are silent on infant baptism is no warrant for excluding them 'from the common sacraments and ceremonies of Christian institution, therefore we may not presume to exclude them.' He sums up as follows:—

Now since all contradiction to this question depends wholly upon these two grounds, the negative argument in matter of

¹ ii, 247.

² p. 252.

³ *Ibid.*

fact, and the pretences that faith and repentance are required to baptism ; since the first is wholly nothing, and infirm upon an infinite account, and the second may conclude that infants can no more be saved than be baptized, because faith is more necessary to salvation than to baptism, it being said, ‘ he that believeth not, shall be damned,’ and it is not said, ‘ he that believeth not, shall be excluded from baptism ; ’ it follows that the doctrine of those that refuse to baptize their infants is upon both its legs weak, and broken, and insufficient.¹

Infants therefore being in a fit state to receive all the effects of Holy Baptism are not to be denied them. Finally Taylor clinches his argument by an appeal to history.

The church of God, ever since her numbers were full, hath for very many ages consisted almost wholly of assemblies of them who have been baptized in their infancy.²

The Holy Eucharist is dealt with most fully in *The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament*, published in 1654. This book should properly be reckoned among Taylor’s controversial works, as it was expressly written to confute the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, but it is more convenient to consider it here. The dedicatory letter addressed to Warner, Bishop of Rochester, is written in an indignant strain and rebukes with a lofty eloquence the emissaries of the Church of Rome who

are grown to that strange triumphal gaiety upon their joy that the church of England as they think is destroyed, that they tread upon her grave which themselves have digged for her who lives and pities them ; and they wonder that any man should speak in her behalf, and suppose men do it out of spite and indignation, and call the duty of her sons, who are by persecution made more confident, pious, and zealous

¹ ii, 256.

² ii, 270.

in defending those truths for which she suffers on all hands, by the name of anger, and suspect it of malicious, vile purposes.¹

The ‘poor afflicted mother’ had indeed fallen upon evil days, but nevertheless her doctrine remained true and pure, and that of Rome false. It is Taylor’s purpose in this book to vindicate the teaching of the Church of England in the matter of the Holy Eucharist. He opens his work by observing that this sacrament was intended to be a symbol of unity, and in fact was so while men ‘believed heartily’ and did not ‘enquire too curiously.’ For nearly one thousand years the presence of Christ in the Eucharist was believed, but the mode of the presence was not defined.

So far it was very well; and if error or interest had not unravelled the secret, and looked too far into the sanctuary, where they could see nothing but a cloud of fire, majesty and secrecy indiscriminately mixed together, we had kneeled before the same altars, and adored the same mystery, and communicated in the same rites, to this day.²

The Roman doctrine of transubstantiation was to Taylor’s mind not only erroneous but destructive of the peace of the Church. The doctrine of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist according to the Church of England he states as follows:—

After the minister of the holy mysteries hath ritely prayed, and blessed or consecrated the bread and the wine, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a SACRAMENTAL, that is, in a SPIRITUAL, REAL manner; so that all that worthily communicate do by faith receive Christ really, effectually, to all the purposes of His passion: the wicked receive not Christ, but the bare symbols only. . . . The result of which doctrine is this; it is bread, and it is Christ’s body: it is bread in substance, Christ in the

¹ vi, 8

² p. 13.

sacrament ; and Christ is as really given to all that are truly disposed, as the symbols are ; . . . and Christ does as really nourish and sanctify the soul as the elements do the body.¹

Now it is clear from this statement that the species of bread and wine remain in their nature what they were before consecration, and the change that is effected is after a sacramental, that is a spiritual manner. It might be thought that the term ‘real’ as used by Taylor is superfluous, if not indeed contradictory of the spiritual presence upon which he insists in opposition to a corporeal presence maintained by the Romanists ; but he is at pains to show that ‘spiritual and real’ are ‘hugely consistent.’ The term ‘real’ is employed by Taylor to indicate that a change or a presence that is spiritual possesses a reality of which a natural change or presence can only be a type ; or in other words, the highest degree of reality attaches to those gifts and graces which proceeding from the Holy Spirit are discerned by the spirit or the mind of man. Therefore to assert that Christ is present in the sacrament spiritually, is to affirm that the presence is real and true, after a degree and in a manner, of which a corporeal or natural presence is but an image or a shadow. Spiritual and real are therefore ‘hugely consistent ;’ ‘so we may say of the blessed sacrament, Christ is more truly and really present in spiritual presence than in corporal.’² Taylor further argues that the use of the term ‘real’ in this sense is more reasonable, than the manner in which the Romanists—especially Bellarmine—applied it.

We say that Christ’s body is in the sacrament really, but spiritually. They say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say, that the word may be allowed in

¹ pp. 13-14.

² p. 15.

this question. Where now is the difference? Here; by 'spiritually' they mean 'present after the manner of a spirit'; by 'spiritually' we mean 'present to our spirits only'; that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith, or spiritual susception; but their way makes His body to be present no way but that which is impossible and implies a contradiction. . . . They say that Christ's body is truly present there as it was upon the cross, but not after the manner of all or any body, but after that manner of being as an angel is in a place; that's their 'spiritually'; but we by 'the real spiritual presence' of Christ do understand Christ to be present as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace.¹

Taylor's teaching on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist is not entirely consistent, but its main trend is in the direction of Virtualism rather than Receptionism.²

Taylor's main arguments in the *Real Presence* are directed against the doctrine of transubstantiation which he assails upon four grounds—Scripture, reason, sense, and tradition. In order to refute the alleged Scriptural basis he examines the passages commonly urged in support—St. John vi, and the words of institution; but he makes a preliminary observation, with the object of confounding his opponents upon this ground, that many learned Romanists have themselves denied that transubstantiation could be inferred from Scripture. Thus Cardinal Cajetan confessed that the words of institution, 'setting aside the decree of the Church,' were not sufficient to substantiate the doctrine; Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, had affirmed the same. Further he adds the testimony of Duns Scotus and Gabriel Biel. The former asserted: 'There is no place of scripture so express that without the declaration

¹ p. 17.

² *Vide* D. Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, ii, 328ff.

of the church it can evidently compel us to admit Transubstantiation.'¹ While Biel wrote: 'How the body of Christ is there . . . is not found expressed in the canon of the Bible'.² This is an ingenious and forceful manner in which to open a discussion.

Taylor's treatment of St. John vi is interesting if not convincing. He does not think that this chapter refers primarily to the Eucharist, but to a 'spiritual susception of Christ.' Again he gives an imposing list of Romanists who favour his argument. Bellarmine, who considered only verses 51-8 to allude to the Eucharist, explained that the Roman theologians had been forced to deny the sacramental interpretation of the whole chapter, in order to refute the Hussites and Lutherans who insisted upon communion in both kinds. Taylor's standpoint is expressed in the following words taken from the *Worthy Communicant* :—

The 'flesh' of Christ is His word: the 'blood' of Christ is His spirit; and by believing in His word, and being assisted and conducted by His spirit, we are nourished up to life; and so Christ is our food, so He becomes life unto our souls.³

This summarizes the interpretation he offers of St. John vi in the *Real Presence*; but whether his arguments are sound or consistent will be noticed further. He triumphantly shows that the Roman position is illogical; for he correctly observes that the Fathers who maintained that St. John vi was a direct allusion to the Eucharist, 'believed themselves bound by the same necessity to give the Eucharist to infants as to give them baptism.' This is unquestionably true, and when the Council of Trent in 1562 declared: 'If any one shall say that the Communion of the Eucharist is necessary to

¹ p. 21.

² *Ibid.*

³ viii, 18.

little children before they come to years of discretion, let him be anathema,'¹ the Roman Church departed from the custom of the primitive Church, and denied the necessity of communion which the words 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves'² imply. Now Taylor argues, if these words refer to the Eucharist, which it should be observed was not denied until the sixteenth century, then in the technical theology of the West there is a 'necessity of means' and a 'necessity of precept' for communicating infants; no Church has the right to deny communion to them; therefore the Roman Church is in error. How then does Taylor justify the Church of England in this matter? He admits that the communicating of infants was the primitive custom 'and it were hard to suppose the whole church of God in her best and earliest times to have continued for above six hundred years in a practical error,'³ and while there is nothing in Scripture that directly forbids it, yet there is 'no command for it.'

For as for the words of our blessed Lord recited by S. John, upon which the holy fathers did principally rely; they were spoken before the institution of both the sacraments, and indifferently relate to either; that is indeed to them both, as they are the ministries of faith, but to neither in themselves directly. . . . The thing itself then being left in the midst, and undetermined, it is in the power of the church to give it or to deny it. For in all things where Christ hath made no law, the church hath liberty to do that which is most for the glory of God, and the edification of all christian people. And therefore although the primitive church did confirm newly baptized persons and communicate them; yet as with great reason she did change the time of Confirmation . . . so with equal authority, when she hath an equal reason, she

¹ Council of Trent, 4th Canon, Session XXI.

² St. John vi. 53.

³ viii, 92.

may change and limit the time of ministering the communion.¹

This line of argument depends entirely upon Taylor's interpretation of St. John vi; but if the traditional view of this chapter be accepted, then the custom of the Western Church in refusing the Eucharist to infants would be extremely hard to justify.²

Taylor also urges that 'if these words be understood of sacramental manducation, then no man can be saved but he that receives the holy sacrament; for "unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you."'³ But surely Taylor answers this argument for himself in his work on *Confirmation* where he quotes these words of St. John.

Thus it is also in the other sacrament, 'Unless we eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood we have no life in us,' and yet God forbid that every man that is not communicated should die eternally. But it means plainly that without receiving Christ, as He is by God's intention intended we should receive Him in the communion, we have no life in us; plainly thus,—Without the internal grace we cannot live, and the external ministry is the usual and appointed means of conveying to us the internal; and therefore although without the external it is possible to be saved when it is impossible to be had, yet with the wilful neglect of it we cannot.⁴

Taylor was able to produce abundant arguments against the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, without denying the traditional interpretation of St. John vi; as it is, he really weakens his case and involves himself in difficulties from which he finds it hard to escape.

He gives a learned and interesting account of the words of institution which in the Latin Church he says

¹ viii, 92-3.

² See D. Stone, *The Holy Communion*, pp. 188-200.

³ vi, 26.

⁴ v, 628.

‘ are usually called the “ words of consecration ; ” ’ but he challenges the Roman custom of separating *Hoc est corpus meum*, which words pronounced by the priest with due intention it was argued transubstantiated the bread into the Body of Christ. He asks by what argument it can be proved that the words ‘ Take, and eat ,’ are not as effective of the change as *Hoc est corpus meum*, and urges that it cannot be stated with certainty which words effect the consecration. St. Gregory affirmed that ‘ the apostles consecrated the Eucharist only by saying the Lord’s Prayer ; ’ and since the New Testament versions of the words of institution differ, the form and rites of consecration are ‘ in the power of the Church ; ’ but one form cannot be made absolutely binding on all. Taylor thus raised a question which has been much discussed by English theologians during the present century, and his conclusions have been accepted by many of those who express dissatisfaction with the Prayer of Consecration in the English Liturgy. He is unquestionably right when he says our Lord did not express precisely what the formula of consecration was to be. The early Liturgies in general contain the recitation of our Lord’s words at the institution of the Eucharist which together with an invocation of the Holy Spirit were regarded as effecting the consecration. But the Western Church maintains that the consecrating words are ‘ This is My Body.’ The Eastern Church, on the other hand, as Taylor points out,¹ directly invokes the Holy Spirit, and his own interpretation of the words of institution is in harmony with that of the Eastern Church—the central act in the Eucharistic rite is the blessing of the elements.

Now I demand, what did Christ’s blessing effect upon the bread and the chalice ? any thing, or nothing ? if no change

¹ vi, 44.

was consequent, it was an ineffective blessing, a blessing that blessed not : if any change was consequent, it was a blessing of the thing in order to what was intended, that is, that it might be eucharistical, and then the following words, ‘ This is My body, this is the blood of the New testament ’ . . . were by way of history and narration.¹

Taylor’s argument as this passage shows is substantially in agreement with that of the Eastern theologians who maintain that the consecration of the Eucharist was in the first place effected by Christ’s blessing or giving of thanks and therefore the words ‘ This is My Body ’ are merely declarative of what has already taken place. In another place Taylor says :—

It is to be supposed that Christ consecrated it before He gave it to them ; and yet if He did, all the consecration was effected by His benediction of it.²

Again, in the *Collection of Offices*, published in 1658, there is an Office for the Administration of the Holy Sacrament ; and the Prayer of Consecration opens with this invocation :—

Have mercy upon us, O heavenly Father, according to Thy glorious mercies and promises, send Thy Holy Ghost upon our hearts, and let Him also descend upon these gifts, that by His good, His holy, His glorious presence, He may sanctify and enlighten our hearts, and He may bless and sanctify these gifts.³

Taylor’s arguments against transubstantiation have not perhaps the same interest for the present age, as for the seventeenth century, but they naturally form the greater part of the *Real Presence*. That the words *Hoc est corpus meum* are to be interpreted in a figurative or sym-

¹ p. 43.

² *Dissuasive from Popery*, Part II, vi, 481.

³ viii, 624.

bolical sense Taylor urges upon no less than nine grounds, among which are the following :—

In the language which our blessed Lord spake there is no word that can express *significat*, but they use the word ‘is’ ; the Hebrews and the Syrians always join the names of the signs with the things signified ; and since the very essence of a sign is to signify, it is not improper elegancy in those languages to use *est* for *significat*.¹

The fact that these words refer to a sacrament adds weight to the figurative interpretation ‘for mysterious and tropical expressions are very frequently, almost regularly and universally used in scripture in sacraments and sacramentals.’²

Having thus proved that transubstantiation has no Scriptural foundation, Taylor attacks the doctrine as being irrational, and contrary to the teaching of the primitive Church. But he does not end here ; he accuses the Romanists of idolatry : his language, however, is sufficiently guarded as not to conflict with his own teaching in *Reverence due to the Altar* :—

For concerning the action of adoration this I am to say, that it is a fit address in the day of solemnity, with a *sursum corda*, with our hearts lift up to heaven, where Christ sits (we are sure) at the right hand of the Father ; for said S. Austin, ‘ No man eats Christ’s body worthily but he that first adores Christ ; but to terminate the divine worship to the sacrament, to that which we eat, is so unreasonable, and unnatural, and withal so scandalous. . . .³

In the *Great Exemplar* Taylor has a remarkably fine section upon the institution and reception of the sacrament,⁴ and in the same work he thus speaks of the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist :

For as it is a commemoration and representment of Christ’s death, so it is a commemorative sacrifice ; as we

¹ vi, 60.

² p. 61.

³ p. 166.

⁴ Vol. ii. Discourse xix, pp. 637-59.

receive the symbols and the mystery, so it is a sacrament. In both capacities, the benefit is next to infinite. First : for whatsoever Christ did at the institution, the same He commanded the church to do in remembrance and repeated rites ; and Himself also does the same thing in heaven for us, making perpetual intercession for His church, the body of His redeemed ones, by representing to His Father His death and sacrifice. There He sits, a high priest continually, and offers still the same one perfect sacrifice ; that is, still represents it as having been once finished and consummate, in order to perpetual and never-failing events. And this also His ministers do on earth ; they offer up the same sacrifice to God, the sacrifice of the cross, by prayers, and a commemorating rite and representation, according to His holy institution. And as all the effects of grace and the titles of glory were purchased for us on the cross, and the actual mysteries of redemption perfected on earth, but are applied to us, and made effectual to single persons and communities of men, by Christ's intercession in heaven ; so also they are promoted by acts of duty and religion here on earth, that we may be 'workers together with God,' as St. Paul expresses it, and in virtue of the eternal and all-sufficient sacrifice may offer up our prayers and our duty ; and by representing that sacrifice, may send up, together with our prayers, an instrument of their graciousness and acceptation.¹

This quotation is given in full, since it is important to observe that Taylor refers the Eucharistic sacrifice directly to the Sacrifice of the Cross which he says has 'been once finished and consummate.' The Eucharist therefore is a commemoration of the Sacrifice of Calvary ; but it is also to be noticed that Taylor more explicitly than any other seventeenth century divine relates the Eucharist to the offering which Christ makes perpetually in Heaven.²

Two further remarks must close this brief survey of

¹ ii, 642-3

² See also *Worthy Communicant*, viii, 37-8. For the teaching of other seventeenth century Divines see Mortimer, *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*.

Taylor's teaching on the Eucharist. The first concerns the fast before receiving communion. While nowhere insisting upon the absolute necessity of a fasting communion and always emphasizing the danger of mistaking fasting as an end in itself, he says :—

It is the custom of the church of great antiquity, and proportionable regard, that every Christian that is in health should receive the blessed sacrament fasting. . . . But sick people and the weak are to be excused in this thing. For necessity and charity are to be preferred before such ceremonies and circumstances of address.¹

It is a catholic custom, that they who receive the holy communion, should receive it fasting. This is not a duty commanded by God: but unless it be necessary to eat, he that despises this custom, gives nothing but the testimony of an evil mind.²

The second concerns the frequency of receiving the sacrament. He does not lay down any hard and fast rule but he observes :—

If the necessities of the church were well considered, we should find that a daily sacrifice of prayer, and a daily prayer of sacrifice, were no more but what her condition requires: and I would to God the governors of churches would take care that the necessities of kings and kingdoms, of churches and states, were represented to God by the most solemn and efficacious intercessions; and Christ hath taught us none greater than the praying in the virtue and celebration of his sacrifice.³

While examining Taylor's treatment of the sacraments it is most fitting to turn to his small work on *Confirmation*⁴

¹ viii, 221-2.

² x, 358.

³ ii, 655.

* Taylor names his work ΧΡΙΣΙΣ ΤΕΛΕΙΩΤΙΚΗ a title derived from *De Eccl. Hier.* of 'Dionysius the Areopagite,' *Contempl.* §8. 'That coming which imparts the spiritual sweet odour and makes complete (*τελεσιουργόν*) is far beyond description, and I leave it to be spiritually known by those who have mercifully received his Spirit, God making communion of the Divine Spirit.'

published in 1663 with a dedication to the Duke of Ormond. It is true that Taylor does not apply the term sacrament to Confirmation, ‘although the fathers in a large and symbolical and general sense’ did so. It is nevertheless an ‘excellent and divine ordinance to purposes spiritual.’ In Ireland he was much distressed to find it greatly neglected, and not least so in his own diocese. This he attributes partly to the influence of the Jesuits who ‘to serve some ends of their own family and order, disputed it into contempt,’ and partly to a misunderstanding of its origin and nature. In order therefore to dispel ignorance and to strengthen the faith of believers, he gives a full and lucid explanation of this holy rite.

The divine origin of Confirmation Taylor finds in the anointing of our Lord by the Holy Spirit immediately after his baptism. These are his words :—

He was baptized by St. John ; He was confirmed by the Holy Spirit, and anointed with spiritual unction in order to that great work of obedience to His Father’s will ; and He was consecrated by the voice of God from heaven. In all things Christ is the head and the first fruits ; and in these things was the fountain of the sacraments and spiritual grace, and the great exemplar of the economy of the church.¹

That Christ is ‘the fountain of the sacraments’ no one will deny, but to discern in this supernatural manifestation of the Holy Spirit the origin of Confirmation is surely more than the event will allow. It may be interpreted in a broad sense as a reference to the anointing by the Holy Spirit in Confirmation, but it is highly questionable whether Confirmation as a distinct rite from Holy Baptism, or even as a supplementary one, would ever have received the sanction of the Catholic Church had

¹ v, 619.

there not been clearer and more convincing evidence than this. If our Lord's baptism and subsequent anointing by the Holy Spirit has any direct bearing upon the sacraments of the Church, it refers surely to Holy Baptism and the gift of the Spirit then bestowed. Taylor, however, attempts to prove from this event in our Lord's life that Baptism and Confirmation are two distinct 'ministries'; and once again his controversial method leads him into dangerous paths. In spite of his assertion that Confirmation is 'properly the perfection of baptism,' there is a strong tendency to separate them unduly. The natural inference that would be drawn from the account given above of the institution of Confirmation, is that the gift of the Holy Spirit is confined to Confirmation; and this view is strengthened by Taylor's inaccurate interpretation of our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus. The water, he argues, signifies Baptism, and the spirit Confirmation.

Baptism is the first mystery, that is certain; but that this of being born of the Spirit is also the next, is plain in the very order of the words; and that it does mean a mystery distinct from baptism, will be easily assented to by them who consider, that although Christ baptized and made many disciples by the ministry of His apostles, yet they who were so baptized into Christ's religion did not receive this baptism of the Spirit till after Christ's ascension.¹

But Taylor's exegesis of this passage is false; the water and spirit cannot be made to indicate two distinct rites. Bishop Westcott has remarked upon these words: 'The general inseparability of these two is indicated by the form of the expression, born of water and spirit as distinguished from the double phrase, born of water and of spirit.' It has been maintained by some

¹ pp. 623-4.

that 'water' had no place in the Fourth Gospel as it came from the writer,¹ but in any case Taylor's interpretation has nothing to commend it. He had evidently forgotten the weighty remarks of the 'judicious Hooker' who commenting upon this passage of St. John had written :—

I hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst. There is nothing more dangerous than this licentious and deluding art, which changeth the meaning of words, as alchymy doth or would do the substance of metals, maketh of any thing what it listeth, and bringeth in the end all truth to nothing. Or howsoever such voluntary exercise of wit might be borne with otherwise, yet in places which usually serve, as this doth concerning regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost, to be alleged for grounds and principles, less is permitted.²

Further if Taylor's interpretation is sound then Confirmation is as necessary for admission into the Kingdom of God as Baptism. He realizes this difficulty himself, and attempts to overcome it by distinguishing the outward form of Confirmation from the inward grace ; the latter is indispensable, and the former is necessary when it may be had. This is equally true of Baptism ; and in spite of Taylor's subtle arguments, his attempt to prove that Confirmation is of divine origin, that this, was instituted by Christ both by word and example, is unconvincing and misleading.

When he turns to the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles he is on surer ground ; his treatment of Hebrews vi. 1, 2 (Taylor always attributes this Epistle to St. Paul) where the writer speaks of 'laying on of hands,'

¹ See H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 132.

² Book V. lix. 2.

is particularly exhaustive, and after a searching examination he concludes that it refers to Confirmation. Thus he shows from the New Testament that the essence of the rite of Confirmation consists in prayer and the imposition of hands. He then traces the history of Confirmation, being at pains to point out (as in *Episcopacy Asserted*) that the laying on of hands is confined to the bishop. A quotation from St. Ambrose to the effect that 'a presbyter may consign if the bishop be not present,' he explains does not refer to the ministry of the Holy Spirit, but to 'consigning' or 'consecrating' the Eucharist.

Taylor does not lay down any rigid rule as to the age at which Confirmation should be administered; but he says:—

the sooner the better. I mean after that reason begins to dawn; but ever it must be taken care of that the parents and godfathers, the ministers and masters, see that the children be catechized and well instructed in the fundamentals of their religion.¹

It is interesting to observe that the 'exorcist' of the primitive Church is identified with the Catechist. 'If the notion be new,' Taylor says, 'yet I the more willingly declare it, not only to free the primitive church from the suspicion of superstition in using charms or exorcisms, or casting of the devil out of innocent children, but also to remonstrate the perpetual practice of catechizing children in the eldest and best times of the church.'²

Thus the work is fittingly closed with an eloquent exhortation to his clergy, urging upon them the supreme necessity of training and instructing Christ's little ones.

A little thing will fill a child's head; teach them to say their prayers, tell them the stories of the life and death of

¹ p. 664.

² *Ibid.*

Christ, cause them to love the holy Jesus with their first love, make them afraid of a sin ; let the principles . . . of justice and truth, of honesty and thankfulness, of simplicity and obedience, be brought into act and habit, and confirmation by the holy sermons of the gospel. If the guides of souls would have their people holy, let them teach holiness to their children, and then they will, at least, have a new generation unto God, better than this wherein we now live.¹

This is an admirable summary of the aim and method of religious education ; no better could be found.

¹ p. 666.

CHAPTER VI

DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL WRITINGS

TAYLOR'S claim to greatness does not consist in his eminence as a theologian, but in his supreme mastery of pulpit oratory and in his unique gifts as a devotional writer. His sermons are probably seldom read, but *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* have never lost their hold upon the English-speaking world. The third Lord Shaftesbury's tribute to these famous volumes, although written two centuries ago, is still true. They are to be found 'in the study of almost every elegant and high divine. They are in use at all seasons, and for all places . . . and, in short, may vie with any devotional books in British Christendom.'¹ Yet it may well be questioned whether they are now read with the same zeal and prayerfulness they once were; well-thumbed editions of Taylor's devotional works serve to remind the present generation that such writings as these, with their eloquent insistence upon a well-ordered spiritual life, cannot be neglected or ignored except at incalculable loss.

It would be little short of sacrilege to analyse in detail these treasures of devotion around which have gathered so many sacred associations. Some brief account of their contents must suffice; and then it is hoped the reader will peruse with reverence and affection the volumes for himself.

A much-neglected work is *The Great Exemplar*, which appeared in 1650 with a short dedicatory letter to Lord

¹ *Characteristics*, vol. iii. misc. 5, ch. 3.

Hatton. Taylor's purpose in writing this book was to divert the attention of Christian people from theological controversy to that branch of religion 'which is wholly practical ; that which makes us wiser therefore because it makes us better.'¹ With this practical and devotional end in view Taylor does not enter into critical questions, nor attempt to 'harmonize' the Gospel narratives, but relates in turn the chief events in our Lord's life adding to each section a meditation. 'This is a plan,' it has been truly said, 'far less extensive, less curious, and perhaps less rational, than would now be contemplated by an eminent divine who should purpose to write a Life of Christ.'² But although some of his facts are inaccurate, and others rest upon evidence no longer accepted by scholars, there is no work of Taylor's which contains more practical wisdom or reveals more clearly his remarkable insight into the secrets of men's hearts. His profound knowledge of human nature in all its frailty and grandeur, his firm grasp upon the fundamental verities of Christianity and their application to life are demonstrated in a striking manner in *The Great Exemplar*. The Scriptures the Fathers and Apocryphal stories are all freely drawn upon in order to render the narrative full and life-like ; but although much detail in itself insignificant is found in the work, it never obscures the great epochs in the life of the Redeemer, which Taylor portrays with his accustomed eloquence and magnificent devotion.

The chief reason for the unmerited neglect into which *The Great Exemplar* has fallen, is unquestionably its inordinate length ; a volume running into seven hundred and thirty pages of closely printed matter does not

¹ ii, 2.

² Heber, i, cxxvii.

appeal to the modern reader. Yet the work has the advantage of being divided into twenty-six sections which are again subdivided, while the admirable discourses included in the volume, each complete in itself, enable the reader to meditate upon one theme at a time.

A striking discourse, which may serve to illustrate Taylor's wide range of practical knowledge, occurs in Section III and is headed 'Of nursing children, in imitation of the blessed Virgin mother.'¹ It is replete with wise sayings and homely advice, and might be read with great profit by many mothers to-day. He is extremely severe upon those who entrust their children to strange nurses, and thus neglect 'the first ministries and impresses of nourishment and education.' Some of his expressions may shock the sophisticated refinement of the present generation; but his courageous teaching is refreshing, and his insistence upon the first duties of motherhood stands, unfortunately, in constant need of emphasis.

The preaching of St. John the Baptist provides Taylor with the theme of the discourse 'Of mortification and corporal austerities,'² which is marked by his usual sanity and aversion from asceticism. 'Mortification is the one-half of Christianity; it is a dying to the world; and a strict observance of the rules of temperance, soberness and charity is urged as vital to the Christian life. But 'bodily and voluntary self-afflictions,' except in the case of gross carnal sins, have little spiritual value and may become positively harmful. 'External mortifications do so little co-operate to the cure' of sins, 'that oftentimes they are their greatest inflamers and incentives, and are like cordials given to cure a cold fit of an

¹ ii, 72-81.

² pp. 171-89.

ague, they do their work, but bring a hot fit in its place ; and besides that great mortifiers have been soonest assaulted by the spirit of pride, we find that great fasters are naturally angry and choleric.'¹

There is no phase of the Christian's faith and practice which does not find some place in *The Great Exemplar* ; obedience, prayer, faith, temptation, repentance, Baptism and the Holy Communion are all the subject of exhaustive enquiry. Here too he deals with the Atonement and Resurrection ; doctrines which he only touches upon elsewhere in his writings.

The death of Christ he regards as an expiation for the sins of mankind, at once the satisfaction of God's love and righteousness.

God is the supreme Lord, and His actions are the measure of justice : we, who had deserved the punishment, had great reason to desire a redeemer : and yet Christ, who was to pay the ransom, was more desirous of it than we were. . . . And therefore as there can be nothing against the most exact justice and reason of laws and punishments ; so it magnifies the Divine mercy, who removes the punishment from us, who of necessity must have sunk under it, and yet makes us to adore His severity, who would not forgive us without punishing His son for us ; to consign unto us His perfect hatred against sin, to conserve the sacredness of His laws, and to imprint upon us great characters of fear and love.²

Again in the following eloquent passage, he speaks of Christ as ' a charitable substitution ' for man, but it should be observed that the general trend of his teaching makes it clear that the redemptive work of Christ *for* man, cannot be divorced from the perpetual operation of His Spirit within the soul.

And now behold the Priest and the sacrifice of all the world laid upon the altar of the cross, bleeding, and tortured,

¹ p. 182.

² p. 707.

and dying, to reconcile His Father to us: and He was arrayed with ornaments more glorious than the robes of Aaron. The crown of thorns was His mitre, the cross His pastoral staff, the nails piercing His hands were instead of rings, the ancient ornament of priests, and His flesh rased and checkered with blue and blood instead of the parti-coloured robe. But as this object calls for our devotion, our love and eucharist to our dearest Lord; so it must needs irreconcile us to sin, which in the eye of all the world brought so great shame, and pain, and amazement upon the Son of God, when He only became engaged by a charitable substitution of Himself in our place; and therefore we are assured, by the demonstration of sense and experience, it will bring death, and all imaginable miseries, as the just expresses of God's indignation and hatred: for to this we may apply the words of our Lord in the prediction of miseries to Jerusalem, 'if this be done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry?' For it is certain Christ infinitely pleased His Father, even by becoming the person made guilty in estimate of law; and yet so great charity of our Lord, and the so great love and pleasure of His Father, exempted Him not from suffering pains intolerable: and much less shall those escape who provoke and displease God, and 'despise so great salvation,' which the holy Jesus hath wrought with the expense of blood and so precious a life.¹

The Resurrection is a reuniting of soul and body, because both are essential to human nature;

And although in a philosophical sense the resurrection is of the body, that is, a restitution of our flesh and blood and bones, and is called 'resurrection,' as the entrance into the state of resurrection may have the denomination of the whole; yet in the sense of scripture the resurrection is the restitution of our life, the renovation of the whole man, the state of reunion.²

It has already been pointed out that Taylor does not accept any purgatorial intermediate state, but the

¹ p. 706.

² p. 726.

following passage shows clearly that he does not deny activity to the soul after death.

The middle state is not it which scripture hath propounded to our faith, or to our hope ; the reward is then when Christ shall appear : but in the mean time the soul can converse with God and with angels, just as the holy prophets did in their dreams, in which they received great degrees of favour and revelation ; but this is not to be reckoned any more than an entrance or a waiting for the state of our felicity.¹

When Taylor deals with original sin and repentance in *The Great Exemplar*, he pursues the same line of argument which he subsequently developed in the *Unum Necessarium*, but controversy was far from Taylor's mind in writing the book. His sole purpose was to declare the message of the Gospel and each section is closed with prayers—sometimes a little too ornate for devotional use.

Two final remarks must conclude this brief survey. A Roman controversialist John Serjeant described Taylor's *Great Exemplar* as a translation of the *Life of Christ* by Ludolphus of Saxonia. It is true there are similarities as is inevitable in two works dealing with the same theme, and Taylor was probably acquainted with the *Vita Jesu Christi redemptoris nostri* of Ludolphus ; but the latter work is a minute commentary on the life and work of Christ with numerous quotations from the Fathers, whereas *The Great Exemplar* seizes upon the outstanding events in our Lord's life and is singularly free from patristic comment ; and in style is so far the superior of Ludolphus' *Vita Jesu Christi*, that it is impossible to regard it as a translation.

Secondly, it seems highly probable that the discourses, which could be removed from *The Great Exemplar*

¹ pp. 726-7.

without impairing its design or integrity, were originally sermons preached by Taylor and subsequently incorporated into the work.

Taylor's *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* stand in no need of commendation; from the first they enjoyed a wide circulation and within a little more than fifty years of their publication passed through nineteen editions. They were eagerly read not only by divines, but were sometimes found in the hands of courtiers. The haughty Sarah Churchill, first Duchess of Marlborough in an insolent letter to Queen Anne, 'obliged the queen with a Prayer-book . . . and a copy of Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Dying*, with the leaves marked and turned down of the passages by which her majesty's soul was to profit before partaking of the sacred rite.'¹ At a later date John Wesley whom the severe asceticism of the *Imitation of Christ* had repelled, was led by reading *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* to dedicate all his life, even 'all his thoughts, words and actions to the service of God.'

Both works are addressed to the Earl of Carbery; in the dedicatory letter prefaced to *Holy Living* there is a graphic description of the evils which had befallen religion, so 'that those few good people who have no other plot in their religion but to serve God and save their souls' were in urgent need of 'ghostly counsel and advice.' Taylor hopes that his 'little scroll of cautions' will supply their need.

Holy Living is divided into four chapters. The first is devoted to a 'consideration of the general instruments and means' which lead to a holy life as:—care of time, purity of intention and the practice of the presence of

¹ Strickland, *Life of Queen Anne*, quoted, i, ccl. 250.

God ; to these are added rules intended to assist in the formation and preservation of these essential habits.

In the second chapter Taylor treats of Christian sobriety by which he means ‘ all that duty that concerns ourselves in the matter of meat and drink and pleasures and thoughts ; and it hath within it the duties of temperance, chastity, humility, modesty, and content.’¹ To emphasize more clearly the nature of this duty Taylor gives some account of the sins that militate against it :—voluptuousness, drunkenness, pride, etc., and excellent rules are formulated for the eradication of evil habits. In almost every sentence of this chapter Taylor’s amazing knowledge of human nature is evident ; a man is brought face to face with himself in all his weakness and imperfection.

What was I before my birth ? first nothing, and then uncleanness. What during my childhood ? weakness and folly. What in my youth ? folly still and passion, lust and wildness. What in my whole life ? a great sinner, a deceived and an abused person. Lord, pity me ; for it is Thy goodness that I am kept from confusion and amazement, when I consider the misery and shame of my person, and the defilements of my nature.²

Thus a man’s thoughts are turned in upon himself ; and as is natural to such introspection and self-examination there is a deep undercurrent of solemnity, and sometimes the gloomy note of pessimism and melancholy is sounded ; but the hopeful assurance of final victory is never wholly absent. Thus the following passage, which has obviously autobiographical touches, is a fine vindication of Christian contentedness.

Or I am fallen into the hands of publicans and sequestrators, and they have taken all from me : what now ? let me look about me. They have left me the sun and moon, fire

¹ iii, 44.

² p. 114.

and water, a loving wife, and many friends to pity me, and some to relieve me, and I can still discourse ; and unless I list they have not taken away my merry countenance, and my cheerful spirit, and a good conscience : they still have left me the providence of God, and all the promises of the gospel, and my religion, and my hopes of heaven, and my charity to them too ; and still I sleep and digest, I eat and drink, I read and meditate, I can walk in my neighbour's pleasant fields, and see the varieties of natural beauties, and delight in all that in which God delights, that is, in virtue and wisdom, in the whole creation, and in God himself.¹

After this meditation upon man's duty towards himself, in the third chapter Taylor considers Christian Justice, or man's duty towards his fellows. Obedience due to superiors is balanced by a careful enquiry into that 'part of justice which is due from superiors to inferiors.' Here Taylor maintains the same principles which he subsequently elaborated in the *Ductor Dubitantium* ; but the mutual obligations are more simply expressed, and philosophical subtleties are avoided ; when, however, the duty is further extended to include 'negotiations or civil contracts,' and 'restitution,' Taylor brings to bear upon his discussion casuistry in its highest and noblest sense.

The following passage on 'justice in bargaining' has a special interest :—

In prices of bargaining concerning uncertain merchandises, you may buy as cheap ordinarily as you can, and sell as dear as you can, so it be, first, without violence ; and secondly, when you contract on equal terms with persons in all senses, as to the matter and skill of bargaining, equal to yourself, that is, merchants with merchants, wise men with wise men, rich with rich ; and thirdly, when there is no deceit, and no necessity, and no monopoly : for in these cases, viz., when the contractors are equal, and no advantage on either side,

¹ p. 91.

both parties are voluntary, and therefore there can be no injustice or wrong to either. But then add also this consideration, that the public be not oppressed by unreasonable and unjust rates.¹

The fourth and last chapter, ‘Of Christian Religion,’ is for devotional purposes, the most valuable section of the book ; it is concerned mainly with the ‘internal actions of religion ;’—Faith, Hope, and Love.

Those I call the internal actions of religion, in which the soul only is employed, and ministers to God in the special actions of faith, hope, and charity. Faith believes the revelations of God, hope expects His promises, and charity loves His excellencies and mercies. Faith gives our understanding to God, hope gives up all the passions and affections to heaven and heavenly things, and charity gives the will to the service of God. Faith is opposed to infidelity, hope to despair, charity to enmity and hostility : and these three sanctify the whole man, and make our duty to God and obedience to His commandments to be chosen, reasonable, and delightful, and therefore to be entire, persevering, and universal.²

Some cautions and rules are added to regulate a mistaken zeal ‘which runs out into excrescences and suckers,’ and he wisely points out that true zeal must be seated in the will and understanding ‘not in the fancies and affections ; for these will make it full of noise and empty of profit.’³

Next, Taylor gives an account of the ‘external actions of religion’ :—reading and hearing the Word of God ; fasting and ‘corporal austerities ;’ keeping days of public joy and thanksgiving. The rules enumerated are all marked by discretion and spiritual insight. Thus on reading the Word of God he says :—

Read the gospels, the psalms of David ; and especially those portions of scripture which by the wisdom of the church are appointed to be publicly read on Sundays and holidays,

¹ p. 131.

² p. 145.

³ p. 163.

viz. the epistles and the gospels. In the choice of any other portions you may advise with a spiritual guide, that you may spend your time with most profit.¹

His observations upon fasting, here as elsewhere, are so full of common sense, that the duty as he interprets it cannot fail to commend itself, except to those as he says, who know ‘neither spiritual acts nor spiritual necessities,’ and his rules for keeping the Lord’s Day and other Christian festivals emphasize the joyousness of religion.

The remainder of the book is concerned with ‘the mixed acts of religion’ :—prayer, alms, and repentance, which lead to the reception of the Blessed Sacrament. The rules of preparation for the Eucharist are admirable in tone and expression, following closely the Prayer Book model.

Each chapter of *Holy Living* is followed by a series of prayers, often conceived in a lofty strain with much noble imagery and genuine poetry ; but sometimes they strike the modern reader as overladen with detail and in style too florid for devotional use, if not indeed as inappropriate addresses to the Most High. His own vivid imagination and easy eloquence, led him occasionally to break an excellent rule of prayer, formulated by himself in Chapter IV of *Holy Living*.

Let the words of our prayers be pertinent, grave, material, not studiously many, but according to our need, sufficient to express our wants, and to signify our importunity. God hears us not the sooner for our many words, but much the sooner for an earnest desire : to which let apt and sufficient words minister, be they few or many, according as it happens.²

The *Holy Dying* has an eloquent dedicatory letter to Lord Carbery in which Taylor makes pathetic reference

¹ pp. 165–6.

² p. 179.

to the bereavement his generous protector had sustained in the loss of his first wife.

My lord, it is your dear lady's anniversary, and she deserved the biggest honour, and the longest memory, and the fairest monument, and the most solemn mourning; and in order to it, give me leave, my lord, to cover her hearse with these following sheets. This book was intended first to minister to her piety. . . . But since her work is done, and God supplied her with provisions of His own, before I could minister to her and perfect what she desired. it is necessary to present to your lordship those bundles of cypress which were intended to dress her closet, but come now to dress her hearse.¹

Taylor too had recently lost his wife, and it is most natural to suppose that the first sentence in the following quotation refers to her death:—

Both your lordship and myself have lately seen and felt such sorrows of death, and such sad departure of dearest friends, that it is more than high time we should think ourselves nearly concerned in the accidents. Death hath come so near to you as to fetch a portion from your very heart; and now you cannot choose but dig your own grave, and place your coffin in your eye, when the angel hath dressed your scene of sorrow and meditation with so particular and so near an object: and therefore, as it is my duty, I am come to minister to your pious thoughts, and to direct your sorrows, that they may turn into virtues and advantages.²

This letter is one of the most remarkable in the English language, as its theme—the art of dying—is suggestive of solemn and profound meditation. Taylor never tires of warning his readers of the danger and uncertainty attending death-bed repentance; he dismisses Extreme Unction as a charm, powerless to work any spiritual change; he rejects the Roman doctrine of

¹ p. 257.

² p. 258.

prayers for the dead,¹ and with these cautions prepares the reader for the ‘ charnel house ’ and the ‘ chambers of death.’

Holy Dying is divided into five chapters. The first is concerned with ‘ general considerations preparatory to death.’

The vanity and shortness of man’s life are described in Taylor’s inimitable style. Man’s life is brief it is true, but long enough if ‘ childhood be consecrated by baptism, if youth be chaste and temperate, manhood modest and industrious,’ then ‘ we have lived our whole duration, and shall never die, but be changed, in a just time, to the preparations of a better and an immortal life.’²

In the second chapter Taylor deals more particularly with ‘ exercises ’ to be practised as preparatory to a holy death. ‘ He that would die well must always look for death;’ make ‘ provisions proper to the necessities of that great day of expense in which a man is to throw his last cast for an eternity of joys or sorrows;’ therefore:—

He that desires to die well and happily, above all things must be careful that he do not live a soft, a delicate, and

¹ These are Taylor’s words :— ‘ The prayers for the dead used in the church of Rome are most plainly condemned, because they are against the doctrine and practices of all the world, in other forms, to other purposes, relying upon distinct doctrines— . . . Concerning prayer for the dead, the church hath received no commandment from the Lord ; and therefore concerning it we can have no rules nor proportions but from those imperfect revelations of the state of departed souls, and the measures of charity, which can relate only to the imperfection of their present condition and the terrors of the day of judgment : but to think that any suppletory to an evil life can be taken from such devotions after the sinners are dead, may encourage a bad man to sin, but cannot relieve him when he hath.’ p. 263.

² p. 280.

voluptuous life; but a life severe, holy, and under the discipline of the cross.¹

To these general 'exercises' are added the duties of 'frequent scrutiny' and works of charity; the latter 'with its twin-daughters, alms and forgiveness, is especially effectual for the procuring God's mercies in the day and the manner of our death.'²

There is hardly a sentence in *Holy Dying* that does not contain some solemn and profound thought couched in majestic, and, not infrequently, awe-inspiring language. The following passage is quoted to illustrate Taylor's fancy in full flight:—

He that hath lived a wicked life, if his conscience be alarmed, and that he does not die like a wolf or a tiger, without sense or remorse of all his wildness and his injury, his beastly nature, and desert and untitled manners, if he have but sense of what he is going to suffer, or what he may expect to be his portion; then we may imagine the terror of their abused fancies, how they see affrighting shapes, and because they fear them, they feel the gripes of devils, urging the unwilling souls from the kinder and fast embraces of the body, calling to the grave and hastening to judgment, exhibiting great bills of uncancelled crimes, awaking and amazing the conscience, breaking all their hope in pieces, and making faith useless and terrible, because the malice was great, and the charity was none at all. Then 'they look for some to have pity on them, but there is no man.' No man dares to be their pledge; no man can redeem their soul, which now feels what it never feared. Then the tremblings and the sorrow, the memory of the past sin, and the fear of future pains, and the sense of an angry God, and the presence of some devils, consign him to the eternal company of all the damned and accursed spirits. Then they want an angel for their guide, and the Holy Spirit for their comforter, and a good conscience for their testimony, and Christ for their advocate, and they die and are left in prisons of earth or air, in secret and un-

¹ p. 294.

² p. 303.

discerned regions, to weep and tremble, and infinitely to fear the coming of the day of Christ ; at which time they shall be brought forth to change their condition into a worse, where they shall for ever feel more than we can believe or understand.¹

The third chapter contains some remedies for impatience in the time of sickness, and for an inordinate fear of death ; to which are added some general rules whereby sickness may become ‘ safe and sanctified.’ The last chapter provides a valuable guide for the clergy in their ministrations to the dying ; and the volume closes with some instructions on the treatment of the dead.

When we have received the last breath of our friend, and closed his eyes, and composed his body for the grave, then seasonable is the counsel of the son of Sirach, ‘ Weep bitterly, and make a great moan, and use lamentation, as he is worthy; and that a day or two ; lest thou be evil spoken of ; and then comfort thyself for thy heaviness. But take no grief to heart; for there is no turning again ; thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself. ’²

Solemn and fitting mourning Taylor sanctions but not immoderate and unreasonable grief. The body should be decently buried and the legal obligations resting upon the mourners properly discharged.

As Taylor began his work in a practical strain so he concludes :—

It remains, that we who are alive, should so live, and by the actions of religion attend the coming of the day of the Lord, that we neither be surprised, nor leave our duties imperfect, nor our sins uncancelled, nor our persons unreconciled, nor God unappeased ; but that, when we descend to our graves, we may rest in the bosom of the Lord, till the mansions be prepared where we shall sing and feast eternally. Amen.³

¹ pp. 306-7.

² p. 445.

³ p. 455.

Of like character to *Holy Living* and *Holy Dying* is a devotional manual published in 1656 which received its title *The Golden Grove*¹ from Lord Carbery's seat in S. Wales. It contains 'Daily Prayers and Litanies fitted to the days of the week,' a short Catechism for the young, an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, and some excellent instructions upon the practice of the Christian Faith. The most interesting sections of the work are perhaps the *Via Pacis* 'A Short Method of Peace and Holiness,' drawn largely from the *Imitation of Christ* and the twenty-three Festive Hymns 'according to the manner of the Ancient Church: fitted to the fancy and devotion of the younger and pious persons, apt for memory, and to be joined to their other prayers.' The most superficial perusal of these hymns shows, that while they are suitable for the purpose Taylor intended them, their irregular metre is a fatal disadvantage for congregational singing; nevertheless Taylor's effort was a laudable attempt to translate into English thought and language some of the splendid compositions of the Ancient Church.²

¹ vii, 588-662.

² 'It is strange that the old Latin hymns and sacred songs, that since the days of Caedmon (who became a monk for the express purpose of devoting himself to religious poetry) had so greatly assisted devotion, should have been discredited and almost entirely excluded from the service books at the Reformation. Edward the Sixth's Primer (1553) had no hymns, though a few reappear in Elizabeth's. In fact, when the Latin tongue was discarded, there appears to have been no inclination to preserve the old carols, sequences, and office hymns in English.' E. A. Towle, *John Mason Neale*, p. 206. Cranmer had attempted to translate some of the ancient hymns, but it was Neale who first succeeded on a large scale. For full account of Taylor's hymns *vide* Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 1118.

No review of Taylor's works could pretend to completeness which did not point out to the reader the majesty of his sermons,¹ for above all else Taylor was a preacher. It was customary in the early seventeenth century for sermons to be written *in extenso*, and then committed to memory. This severe and systematic training which English preachers then underwent had the effect of raising to a high level the general standard of preaching ; but it is in Taylor, rightly styled the 'English Chrysostom,' that pulpit oratory attains to perfection. He was a past-master in all the preacher's art ; directness of appeal, dramatic description, vivid presentation ; yet rarely dissipating his energies in mere fancies, or working unduly upon the emotions of his congregation. A lover of natural beauty some of his most striking imagery is drawn from the flowers of the field, the rising and setting sun, the river and the storm ; but it was ever his purpose to awaken conscience and to teach men to hate sin.

Sixty-four of Taylor's published sermons have been preserved. In 1650 he preached a magnificent sermon on the death of the first Lady Carbery ; in the next year were published twenty-seven sermons for the summer half, followed by twenty-five sermons for the winter half published in 1653, which together form a complete set for the Christian Year. They were preached at the Golden Grove, but it has been questioned whether they were delivered in the precise form in which they now appear ; but this is a matter of no great importance. What strikes the reader as singular in the arrangement of the sermons is, that with the exception of the Advent Sermons, where Taylor appropriately discourses on

¹ Vol. iv contains the sermons.

Dooms-Day Book, and the sermon 'Of the Spirit of Grace' preached on Whitsunday, none of the sermons has any special reference to the teaching of the Christian Year.

The aim that Taylor set before him was a practical one; his sermons portray virtue in the most glowing colours and vice as hideous and monstrous. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity are assumed and rarely does he touch upon controversial matters. In two instances he develops at length his own peculiar views already referred to, in 'The invalidity of a death-bed repentance,' and 'The return of prayers;' but apart from these two discourses his sermons, although elaborate in the treatment of their subject, are such as can be read with profit by those who have no special theological training. He does not parade his learning, and when quoting from the Fathers, gives a translation or a paraphrase in addition to the original tongue. The most striking of his sermons in this collection are the three on 'Christ's Advent to Judgment,'¹ where Taylor draws terrible pictures of the wicked in their confusion; the exquisitely beautiful sermon on 'The Marriage Ring,'² and 'The House of Feasting; or the Epicure's Measures.'³ His other sermons were all preached in Ireland, and while lacking the noble eloquence of the foregoing are extremely valuable in throwing light upon the condition of the Irish Church and nation.

The last of Taylor's works calling for special notice in this chapter, is the remarkable tract on *Reverence due to the Altar*.⁴ This extremely interesting document only

¹ iv, 7-33. ² *Ibid.*, pp. 207-33. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 180-206.

⁴ Edited by John Barrow, 1848. The manuscript from which the tract is printed was bequeathed by Dr. Thomas Barlow, Bp. of Lincoln (1675-1691) to the library of Queen's College. On the

came to light in 1848, having been discovered in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford. It does not bear Taylor's name nor that of the person to whom it is addressed; but both the handwriting and literary style, as well as the subject-matter, confirm the opinion that it is from the pen of Taylor, and was most probably written during his residence at All Souls College, Oxford.

The tract is, as it professes to be, a learned 'account of those reasons which move the Church in her addresses to the place of public worship, but specially the Altar, to adore God Almighty with lowly bendings of the Body.'¹ The main purpose of this small book is to expose the common fallacy that worship 'the main business of our life,' is only acceptable to God when it is 'spiritual,' that is, divorced from external expression. In short it is an earnest and convincing plea for the recognition of the very simple fact that 'as the soul and body make up a complete man, so the adoration of both makes the complete Liturgy.' Taylor argues that it is utterly false to treat human nature as though soul and body were two separate entities; but while inward sincerity is indispensable to true worship, it will find fitting expression in 'corporal adoration.' Thus worship involves 'ceremonial' prostration which, as Taylor shows, is the full force of *προσκυνεῖν* as used in the New Testament. This applies especially to holy places consecrated to the service of God 'by acts of publick and religious solemnity,' but most of all to the altar; 'that being a

outside of the tract is written in Barlow's hand, 'A Tract, to prove that to bow towards the Altar is not only *permissum*, and so *licitum*, but *praeceptum*, and so *necessarium*,' and below 'Dr. J. Taylor (ni male memini) was the Author of it.'

¹ v. 317.

place of the greatest Sanctity, there ought to be the expressions of the greatest devotion.'¹

Taylor examines the teaching of the Fathers on this subject and summarizes his conclusions as follows:—The altar was always the ‘priests’ peculiar’ in the Christian Church; leading up to it were the ‘degrees of reconciliation’ of which the altar was the terminus, there, were performed the most solemn parts of the liturgies ‘in all ages of the Christian Church;’ and lastly which is the reason for the great sanctity attaching to the altar, it

is *sedes corporis et sanguinis Christi*. And if the Altars, and the Ark and the Temple in the law of Nature and Moses were Holy because they were God’s Memorials, then by the same reason shall the Altar be highly holy, because it is Christ’s Memorial, there we commemorate his Death, and passion in the dreadful, and mysterious way that himself with greatest mysteriousness appointed. Here are all the Christian Sacrifices presented. We do believe that Christ is there really present in the Sacrament, there is the body and blood of Christ which are ‘verily and indeed’ taken and received by the faithful, saith our Church in her Catechism . . . if places became holy (at the presence of angels in the Old Testament) shall not the Christian Altar be most holy where is present the blessed Body and Blood of the Son of God?²

To this eloquent passage is added a selection of the epithets employed by the Fathers to describe the altar:—‘the life-giving Table,’ ‘the venerable Altar,’ ‘the Tabernacle of Christ’s glory,’ etc. Taylor is careful, however, to point out that divine worship is not directed to the altar, ‘but towards the holy places,’ which the Lord’s Table symbolises here on earth.

¹ v, 326.

² v, 328-30.

Thus Taylor concludes this intensely interesting document:—

Shall I end my discourse with the testimony of Bishop Jewell? . . . Kneeling, ‘bowing,’ standing up, and other like are commendable gestures, and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understandeth what they mean, and applieth them to God, to whom they are due.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

CHAPTER VII

CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS

THEOLOGICAL controversy being an obsession of his age, Taylor could hardly have escaped it even had he wished ; it was wrought into the very fibre of the national life, and gave birth to political parties as fundamentally opposed in matters affecting the state, as they were in theological principles. There is hardly a page of Taylor's voluminous writings which does not bear the mark of controversy upon it ; but there are only three of his works—*An Apology for Set Forms of Liturgy*, *The Real Presence*, *A Dissuasive from Popery*—and one of his sermons—that preached on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot—which are essentially and definitely controversial. The first of these has the Directory especially in view, and the others are vigorous and critical attacks upon the Church of Rome. *The Real Presence* has already been considered.

*An Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy*¹ was published in 1646, and as it now appears has a short but gracious Epistle Dedicatory to ' His Sacred Majesty ' Charles I, followed by a longer Author's Preface wherein Taylor lingers over the beauties of the Prayer Book services then superseded by the Directory :—

I shall only crave leave that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and

¹ Cf. Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, Book V.

that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day nor by night ; these were the pleasures of our peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights which we then enjoyed, as antepasts of heaven and consignations to an immortality of joys.¹

In a like strain he sketches the history of the Prayer Book and the labours bestowed upon it :—

The zeal which Archbishop Grindal, bishop Ridley, Dr. Taylor, and other the holy martyrs and confessors in queen Mary's time, expressed for this excellent liturgy before and at the time of their death, defending it by their disputation, adorning it by their practice, and sealing it with their bloods, are arguments which ought to recommend it to all the sons of the church of England for ever, infinitely to be valued beyond all the little whispers and murmurs of argument pretended against it.²

And what is now to take its place ? The Directory ordered by Lords and Commons in 1644.

A direction without a rule ; an office that complies with no precedent of scripture, nor of any ancient church ; that still permits children in many cases of necessity to be unbaptized ; that will not suffer them to be confirmed at all ; that joins in marriage as Cacus did his oxen, in rude, inform, and unhallowed yokes : that never thinks of absolving penitents, or exercising the power of the keys, after the custom and rites of priests ; a liturgy that recites no creed, no confession of faith ; that never commemorates a departed saint ; that is new without authority, and never made up into a sanction by an act of parliament. . . .³

Such is Taylor's description of the Directory ; while the Prayer Book 'the rubrics of which was writ in blood,' is now :—

To be cut in pieces with a pen-knife, and thrown into the fire, but it is not consumed ; at first it was sown in tears, and

¹ v, 232.

² p. 237.

³ v, 252-3. Taylor finds no less than thirty-one defects in the Directory.

is now watered with tears, yet never was any holy thing drowned and extinguished with tears.¹

These eloquent extracts from Taylor's Preface cannot be read without rekindling devotion and affection in the hearts of those who, though not blind to its imperfections, have learned to love the Prayer Book.

In the work itself Taylor deals with two classes of objectors; those who repudiate all set forms of prayer, and those who resent set forms when imposed with authority.

In considering the first, Taylor is naturally led into a discussion on *extempore* prayer. His argument is simple but forcible. A thoughtful man desirous of addressing God will first deliberate and premeditate upon the substance and form of his prayer; and God will respect his forethought. It was the custom among all the wisest nations of antiquity to prepare 'their verses and prayers in set forms, with as much religion as they dressed their sacrifices, and observed the rites of festivals and burials.'² It was Taylor argues, a generally accepted principle that only the best should be offered to the Deity; on this ground then *extempore* prayer has little to commend itself.

On the other hand, however, the advocates of *extempore* prayer laid great stress upon 'the gift of prayer' and 'praying with the spirit,' which it was urged enabled a person to do in a moment what otherwise could only be the result of long premeditation. Taylor's reply to this argument is interesting as it illustrates his general conception of the assistance afforded to man by the Holy Spirit.

It is one of the privileges of the gospel and the benefits of Christ's ascension, that the Holy Ghost is given unto the

¹ p. 254.

² p. 262.

church, and is become to us the fountain of gifts and graces. But these gifts and graces are improvements and helps of our natural faculties, of our art and industry, not extraordinary, miraculous, and immediate infusions of habits and gifts.¹

Taylor develops his argument at great length in order to establish his contention that these heavenly gifts are not 'immediate infusions,' but, on the other hand, are bestowed upon man 'to enable his soul, better his faculties, and improve his understanding.' Industry, study, and learning are all enlightened by the Holy Spirit :—

Whatsoever this 'gift' is, or this 'spirit of prayer,' it is to be acquired by human industry, by learning of the scriptures, by reading, by conference, and by whatsoever else faculties are improved and habits enlarged. God's spirit hath done His work sufficiently this way, and He loves not either in nature or grace, which are His two great sanctions, to multiply miracles when there is no need.²

So much then for those who demur in principle to all set forms of prayers. He next turns to those who are willing to use set forms of their own compiling, but not when they are imposed by authority, lest the 'liberty of the spirit' should be quenched. Taylor has no objection to individuals framing their own prayers for private use but 'in the public if it were indifferently permitted it would bring infinite inconvenience, and become intolerable, as a sad experience doth too much verify.'³

Extempore prayer although permissible for private use, is unsuitable for public worship. A liturgy is indispensable and relies upon a Scriptural foundation :— the Lord's Prayer and other 'compositions' found in the Bible.

And now let us consider with sobriety, not only of this excellent prayer, but of all that are deposited in the primitive

¹ v, 263.

² p. 271.

³ pp. 279-80.

records of our religion. Are not those prayers and hymns in holy Scripture excellent compositions, admirable instruments of devotion, full of piety, rare and incomparable addresses to God? Dare any man with his 'gift of prayer' pretend that he can *extempore* or by study make better? Who dares pretend that he hath a better spirit than David had, or than the apostles and prophets and other holy persons in scripture whose prayers and psalms are by God's spirit consigned to the use of the church for ever? Or will it be denied but that they also are excellent directories and patterns for prayer? and if patterns, the nearer we draw to our example are not the imitations and representments the better? And what then, if we took the samplers themselves? is there any imperfection in them, and can we mend them, and correct the *Magnificat*.¹

Taylor then appeals to the history of the Church. In the earliest age the Apostles used set forms of prayer; thus St. Paul speaks of 'supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks,' which Taylor says refer to the different modes of addressing God, 'distinguished by their subject-matter and their form.' In the primitive Church set forms were freely used; indeed the religious needs and aspirations of mankind have invariably found expression in prayers fashioned after deliberation and premeditation 'from Moses to Christ, from Christ to the apostles, from them to all descending ages.'

The public liturgy has therefore the sanction of reason, Scripture and history; moreover it is a symbol of unity. In avoiding merely personal opinions which so often mar *extempore* prayer, the liturgy renders articulate and explicit the feelings and hopes of the whole body, and constitutes a safeguard against schism. Taylor goes so far as to say that 'if all christian churches had one common liturgy, there were not a greater symbol to

¹ p. 291.

testify, nor a greater instrument to preserve, the catholic communion.'¹

Taylor answers effectively the charge that set forms restrain and confine the Spirit by pointing out that this is true to a far greater degree of *extempore* prayer, where the people are tied to the form of prayer the minister chooses to use, and the Directory itself could not escape from this criticism, for in ' appointing everything but the words,' did it not restrain the Spirit?

Freedom is rightly allowed to the minister in preaching, because there are matters in which private interpretation is permissible, and the sermon is addressed to the people who are not bound to accept every opinion the preacher expresses, but it is an abuse of prayer when controversial matter is introduced. It is true that an indiscreet sermon may offend a congregation, but vanity in prayer ' is an impiety and irreligion.' In the matter of preaching Taylor wisely remarks that some restraint might be imposed with advantage, an opinion shared by some of the Westminster divines. Sermons should only be preached by ' men learned and pious,' and the ' vulgar clergy' should instruct the people out of ' the fountains of the church and the public stock,' until they have qualified themselves ' to minister of their own unto the people.'

Taylor closes his Apology by emphasizing again the value of the public liturgy as a symbol of unity and fellowship among believers. But:—

Under the Directory there will be as different religions, and as different desires, and as differing forms, as there are several varieties of men and manners under the one half of heaven, who yet breathe under the same half of the globe.²

¹ v, 301.

² p. 312.

The sermon preached by Taylor on the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason November 5, 1638 in St. Mary's Church, Oxford, while Rector of Uppingham, is the first published work of his extant, and serves as an introduction to his writings against Rome. The subject-matter, composition and authenticity of the sermon all demand careful consideration.

Taylor took as his text St. Luke ix. 54: 'But when James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did?' —a suggestive passage for the occasion as Taylor shows:—

I shall not need to strain much to bring my text and the day together: here is fire in the text, consuming fire, like that whose *antevorta* we do this day commemorate. This fire called for by the disciples of Christ: so was ours too, by Christ's disciples at least, and some of them intitled to our great Master by the compellation of His holy name of Jesus¹ (i.e. Jesuits).

A comparison is then drawn between the apostles, who were justly angered at the treatment their Lord had received at the hands of the Samaritans, and the Romanists 'who had not half such a case for an excuse to a far greater malice.' To give emphasis and clearness to the parallel Taylor adopts the scholastic method of setting down his points under five heads and addresses his arguments to the Romanists thus:—

(1) The persons who asked the question. (2) The cause that moved them. (3) The person to whom they propounded it. (4) The question itself. (5) The precedent they urged 'to move a grant.'

In dealing with the first point Taylor says they were Christ's disciples in both cases and (2) 'the cause was the

¹ viii, 457.

denying of toleration of abode upon the grudge of an old schism, religion was made the instrument. That which should have taught the apostles to be charitable, and the Samaritans hospitable, was made a pretence to justify the unhospitableness of the one, and the uncharitableness of the other. Thus far we are right, for the malice of this present treason stood upon the same base.'¹

The Apostles, doubting the lawfulness of their demand and not regarding themselves infallible addressed their question to Christ; so too the Romanists sought advice but 'not of Christ for He was not in all their thoughts; but of Christ's delegates . . . the fathers confessors.' Thus ingeniously Taylor carries on the parallel to the fourth point. The question in both cases concerned 'a consumptive sacrifice;' the apostles would have desired it from heaven, but the Romanists 'from an artificial hell.' The 'precedent' Taylor considers is really superfluous.

Each point is taken in order and developed at great length. Thus James and John the 'Sons of Thunder' were men of angry temper; the Law had been their schoolmaster; but it was Christ who quenched the fiery spirit of Elias. Yet this spirit still remains in those

disciples professing at least in Christ's school, yet as great strangers to the merciful spirit of our Saviour, as if they had been sons of the law, or foster-brothers to Romulus, and sucked a wolf.²

One would have supposed, Taylor continues, that men with 'so merciful a *cognomentum* (Jesuit) should have put a hand to support the ruinous fabric of the world's charity, and not have pulled the frame of heaven and earth about our ears.'³ But these are the men whose

¹ viii, 458.

² p. 460.

³ *Ibid.*

sermons blast loyalty, breathe treason, slaughter and cruelty, and quench the Spirit of Christ. He cites Sanders 'our countryman' who maintained that religion should be propagated by the sword ; Emmanuel Sā who in his *Aphorisms*—'the ordinary received manual for the fathers confessors of the Jesuits' order'—held it lawful to kill a king if sentenced to death by the Pope ; Mariana, who affirmed the same doctrine with greater emphasis, and considered that poisoning was the best way of disposing of a king judged tyrannical by a few learned though seditious men. By a minute enquiry into the murder of Henry IV by Ravaillac, and 'the damned act' of Jacques Clement the monk, upon the life of Henry III, Taylor demonstrates that Mariana's teaching was that generally accepted by the Jesuits. He clinches this part of his argument by a telling quotation from the life of Pius V by Catena and Gabutius to the effect that the Pope 'was ready to aid in person, to spend the whole revenue of the see apostolic, all the chalices and crosses of the church, and even his very clothes, to promote so pious a business as was the destruction of queen Elizabeth.'¹

Having shown that those responsible for the Gunpowder Plot were 'Boanerges all and more than a *pareil* for James and John,' Taylor enquires into the cause that moved the conspirators. He does not find it in any of the legislation passed by Elizabeth's Parliaments for 'none was put to death for being a Roman Catholic,' nor any punished for his religion. Pius V had forbidden Roman Catholics from attending churches and they were fined by Elizabeth, not for their religion but for sedition. Recusancy and disobedience were

¹ p. 466.

treated as one and the same offence ; but it was disobedience that received punishment. It had been made treason for any Roman priest to be found in England, but the punishment was inflicted not on the ground of religion, but in order to ensure the safety of the Queen. When Bellarmine and Sā had made statements to the effect that the Pope had exempted all ‘clerks from subjection to princes,’ the safety of the nation was imperilled. It was not, however, ‘their religion that was struck at by the justice of these laws, but the security of the queen and state only aimed at.’ Thus Taylor ingeniously removed all cause from his own nation and Church, and laid the charge to the Roman opinion that it was lawful for heretical princes to be deposed.

An interesting section of the sermon is where Taylor examines the ‘ seal of secrecy ’ by which it was alleged the confessors, to whom the question had been addressed, were bound. . . . According to Sir Henry Montague and Garnet himself, the matter of the plot ‘was only propounded to the confessors in way of question or consolation,’ and since therefore it was not a formal confession, the ‘ seal ’ was not binding, from which it followed the confessors were equally guilty. But even had it been disclosed in formal confession Taylor argues it should have been revealed, because ‘ this over-hallowed seal of confession,’ upon the Romanist’s own showing in matters of great concern could be violated.

Such in outline is the main argument of Taylor’s sermon. The first critical question in regard to it is whether in its entirety it is the work of Taylor. According to Wood ‘several things were put into the sermon against the papists by the then Vice-Chancellor, with the result that Taylor was afterwards rejected with scorn ’

by the Romanists, ‘particularly by Francis à S. Clara his intimate acquaintance; to whom afterwards he expressed some sorrow for those things he had said against them, as the said S. Clara hath several times told me.’¹ From this statement it would appear that the Vice-Chancellor² was responsible for some of the bitter remarks the sermon contains, and, as he appointed the preacher on this occasion, it is just possible that he perused the manuscript before the sermon was delivered. He may have made suggestions to Taylor on some points; but whatever these were it is not just an occasional remark here and there in the sermon which must have offended the Romanists, but the whole tone and argument of the sermon itself. There is no internal evidence in support of interpolations such as Wood states were inserted; but, on the other hand, the entire sermon is a vigorous piece of reasoning against Roman pretensions. It is conceivable that Taylor in after life when he had developed a nobler style of eloquence, of which there are naturally few traces in a polemical discourse of this character, may have regretted the crudeness of his language, but that he subsequently ‘expressed some sorrow’ for the sentiments or arguments contained in the sermon, seems impossible to

¹ *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. iii, col. 782.

² The Vice-Chancellor was Accepted Frewen, President of Magdalen, who had held the office from 1628–1630, and then succeeded R. Baylie, President of St. John’s, in 1638 and held office till 1640. It was at Laud’s request that he took the Vice-Chancellorship in 1638. He aroused great opposition by his decorations to Magdalen Chapel and changed the communion table into an altar. He was strongly anti-Roman but there is no evidence beyond Wood’s that he inserted any statement in Taylor’s sermon.

believe from a study of his latest writings against Rome. Indeed the internal evidence is favourable to the view that Taylor in this sermon expressed precisely what was in his mind ; the line of argument he pursues and the authorities he quotes are quite in keeping with the writings to be considered a little later. Moreover the sermon bears a striking resemblance to the *Liberty of Prophesying*, more particularly in his treatment of heresy and in his repudiation of physical force in religion. The Preface too, dedicated to Laud, although it is clear Laud did not appoint him to preach the sermon, is in complete harmony with the whole discouroe.

The most formidable, however, of Taylor's writings against Rome is *A Dissuasive from Popery*, which was written in two parts, the first appearing in 1664 and the second in 1667, the year of his death. It is not to be expected that in a work of this kind Taylor's literary genius will be seen at its best, and if the reader seeks here for noble imagery, glowing description and delicacy of expression he will be disappointed. On the other hand, the theological student will find an abundance of erudition at once interesting and instructive.

In the Preface Taylor explains why it was necessary for him to write the book. Not that he had any natural love of controversies 'skill in which,' he calls the 'worst part of learning, and time is the worst spent in them, and men the least benefited by them ;'¹ but he put his unwilling hand to the task at the request of 'my lords the bishops of Ireland,' who distressed at the growing and pernicious influence of Roman emissaries among their flocks, felt it due to their charges 'to warn

¹ vi, 173.

them of the enemy, and to lead them in the ways of truth and holiness.' In accordance with St. Paul's rule that 'the least esteemed in the church should be employed in controversies,' the lot fell upon Taylor who could not refuse obedience since it was 'a charity to the poor deluded souls of the Irish,' among whom he and his fellow clergy had observed :—

' Such a declension of christianity, so great credulity to believe every superstitious story, such confidence in vanity, such groundless pertinacy, such vicious lives, so little sense of true religion and the fear of God, so much care to obey the priests, and so little to obey God ; such intolerable ignorance, such fond oaths and manners of swearing,' and many other and similar errors that it was urgently necessary for a religion of this character to be reproved, 'lest the people perish, and their souls be cheaply given away to them that make merchandise of souls who were the purchase and price of Christ's blood.¹

The First Part of the *Dissuasive* is divided into three chapters. In the first Taylor shows that the faith of the Church of England is Catholic, Apostolic and Primitive. The Roman Church, on the other hand, in adding new articles and introducing other innovations cannot in these particulars make good the same claim. The Scriptures, Creeds, the first Four General Councils and 'that which is agreeable to the Old and New Testament and collected out of the same by the ancient fathers and catholic bishops of the church,' are the foundation upon which the Church of England securely rests ; this was the faith of the primitive Church. The Roman Church, however, in pretending to a power of making new creeds and imposing new articles of faith as necessary to salvation cannot prove her claim to be either Primitive

¹ vi, 175-7.

or Catholic. It is Taylor's purpose to review in detail the particulars in which Rome had innovated. He deals first with Indulgences ; the origin and history of which he traces and condemns :—

It is a practice that hath turned penances into a fair, and the court of conscience into a Lombard (i.e. a bank).¹

Closely allied with Indulgences is the Roman doctrine of Purgatory which, at first sight, would appear to have some support from antiquity. It is interesting to notice, in this connexion, Taylor's account of the Roman doctrine of prayers for the dead and what he conceives to be the teaching of the Church of England.

The ancient churches in their offices, and the fathers in their writings, did teach and practise respectively, Prayer for the dead. Now because the church of Rome does so too, and more than so, relates her prayers to the doctrine of purgatory, and for the souls there detained ; her doctors vainly suppose that whenever the holy fathers speak of prayer for the dead, that they conclude for purgatory ; which vain conjecture is as false as it is unreasonable. For it is true the fathers did pray for the dead, but how ? That God would 'shew them mercy,' and 'hasten the resurrection,' and 'give a blessed sentence in the great day.' But then it is also to be remembered that they made prayers and offered for those who, by the confession of all sides, never were in purgatory, even for the patriarchs and prophets, for the apostles and evangelists, for martyrs and confessors, and especially for the blessed Virgin Mary.

Upon what accounts the fathers did pray for the saints departed, and indeed generally for all, it is not now seasonable to discourse ; but to say this only, that such general prayers for the dead as those above reckoned, the church of England did never condemn by any express article, but left it in the middle ; and by her practice declares her faith of the resurrection of the dead, and her interest in the

¹ vi, 191.

communion of saints, and that the saints departed are a portion of the catholic church, parts and members of the body of Christ ; but expressly condemns the doctrine of purgatory, and consequently all prayers for the dead relating to it.¹

¹ vi, 195-6. The Church of England does not condemn the doctrine of Purgatory, but the 'Romish' doctrine of Purgatory. Article XXII.

It may be of interest to the reader to note Sancta Clara's exposition of this Article :—*Doctrina Romanensium de Purgatorio.*

'These words are, without doubt, at first sight most difficult. But it must be observed that, by the terms of this Article, it is not the Invocation of Saints absolutely, or in itself, that is condemned, but the *Romish doctrine*; not, however, what the Romans or Catholics (for the words are synonymous in their mode of speaking) hold, but what is supposed to be their doctrine. This, then, we must discover, not from the writings of Catholics, but from those of their opponents.'

'Dr. Andrewes in his Answer to c. 2 of Cardinal Peronnius (fol. 28), like Calvin, supposes that our prayers are addressed to the Saints ultimately and absolutely, and offered, as it were, to so many deities, as he endeavours to show at length—not indeed from the agreement of the Doctors, but from the wording of some of the hymns. This, then, is the doctrine which is condemned in the Article as vain; which we, too, abjure as impious. What cause is there, then, for wonder if the people, when imbued with such calumnies, are opposed to sound and Catholic doctrine? . . .

In exactly the same manner, and in words of the same purport in the same Article, they reject, not Purgatory, indulgences, the worshipping of relics and images in itself, but as before the *Romish doctrine* on all these points—that is, a doctrine falsely imputed to us. Purgatory, they think, is a place invented by us, making the Cross of Christ of none effect, etc. They have many wonderful ideas of this kind. On the subject of indulgences, they think that they are a kind of merchandize of the Pope's. . . . On the worship of images and relics, they think that we pay them the worship properly called *latria*, and having them for its object, and so make idols of them, like the heathen. These wicked calumnies and fables of wicked men, under the name

In Taylor's opinion the more credulous of the Romanists had been led into their belief in Purgatory through stories of apparitions and visions of souls in torment. Taylor himself had instances of this kind brought to his notice when Bishop. Against all such superstitions he utters this note of warning :—

. . . we think fit to admonish the people of our charges, that, besides that the scriptures expressly forbid us to enquire of the dead for truth; the holy doctors of the church, particularly Tertullian, S. Athanasius, S. Chrysostom, Isidore, and Theophylact, deny that the souls of the dead ever do appear, and bring many reasons to prove that it is unfitting they should; saying, if they did, it would be the cause of many errors, and the devils under that pretence might easily abuse the world with notices and revelations of their own; and because Christ would have us content with Moses and the prophets, and especially to hear that prophet whom the Lord our God hath raised up amongst us, our blessed Jesus, who never taught any such doctrine to His church.¹

It has been already pointed out that Taylor refuses to allow any intermediate state of punishment, judgement or condemnation after death; life and death are 'the whole progression according to the doctrine of Christ, and Him we chose to follow.'

The next two sections deal with transubstantiation and 'half-communion,' in which more briefly Taylor

of *Romish doctrine*, they reject as absurd; we detest them as supremely injurious to the Spouse of God.'

Sancta Clara concludes :—'On this point we shall have entire agreement with the Anglican Confession, if only men will weigh its statements, as they ought, in a spirit of zeal, not for party, but for truth.'

Paraphrastica Expositio Articulorum Confessionis Anglicanæ,
pp. 39-42.

¹ pp. 198-9.

covers the same ground as in the *Real Presence*; and they should be read along with that work.

With great wealth of illustration Taylor shows that, in praying in a language unintelligible to the people, the Church of Rome offends against the primitive usage of the Church. He pleads earnestly for services to be rendered in the vulgar tongue. The strength of Taylor's argument, however, is seriously impaired when it is remembered that the clergy whom he introduced to the North of Ireland were ignorant of the Irish tongue, and this fact accounted in no small measure for their unpopularity. On the other hand, although the Roman services were in Latin, the Roman priests were familiar with the vernacular as Taylor observes in the Preface to this work :—

They (Romanists) use all means to keep them to the use of the Irish tongue, lest if they learn English they might be supplied with persons fitted to instruct them; the people are taught to make that also their excuse for not coming to our churches, to hear our advices, or converse with us in religious intercourses, because they understand us not.¹

In the following sections he deals with the adoration of images, the picturing of God the Father and the Blessed Trinity—in which his conclusions savour of Puritanism—and the claim of the Pope to universal sovereignty. His verdict in respect of the last is as follows :—

And therefore all the church of God, whenever they reckoned the several orders and degrees of ministry in the catholic church, reckon the bishop as the last and supreme, beyond whom there is no spiritual power but in Christ; for 'as the whole hierarchy ends in Jesus, so does every particular one in its own bishop.' Beyond the bishop there is no step

¹ vi, 176.

till you rest in the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls ; under Him every bishop is supreme in spirituals, and in all power which to any bishop is given by Christ.¹

The second chapter of this work is devoted to showing how the doctrines enumerated above and others similar to them, taught by the Roman Church ‘ warrant impiety and evil life.’ The weightiest arguments constitute a vigorous attack upon the trivial conception of repentance and confession, which, regarded as mechanical operations, gave ‘ confidence to many men to sin, and to most men to neglect the greater and more effective parts of essential repentance.’ Taylor attaches great importance to private confession although he denies it to be of divine institution, and as practised in the Roman Church open to grave abuse.

Where it is so perpetual and universal, and done by companies and crowds, at a solemn set time . . . men look upon it as a certain cure, like pulling off a man’s clothes to go and wash in a river ; and make it by use and habit, by confidence and custom, to be no certain pain ; and the women blush or smile, weep or are unmoved, . . . when we see that men and women confess to-day and sin to-morrow, and are not affrighted from their sin the more for it, . . . certain it is that a little reason and a little observation will suffice to conclude that this practice of confession hath in it no affrightment, not so much as the horror of sin itself hath to the conscience.²

Other articles of the Roman faith Taylor shows to be ‘ enemies to the particular and specific fruits of piety and religion.’ Three sections are particularly interesting. In the first he contrasts the Roman doctrine of prayer with that of the Church of England.

The difference in this article is plainly this, they pray with their lips, we with the heart ; we pray with the understanding,

¹ p. 221.

² p. 230.

tney with the voice ; we ‘ pray ’, and they ‘ say prayres ’. We suppose that we do not please God if our hearts be absent ; they say it is enough if their bodies be present at their greater solemnity of prayer, though they hear nothing that is spoken, and understand as little.¹

In the second of these sections he attacks the doctrine of the invocation of saints, with special reference to the advocacy of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the third he devotes to a learned examination of exorcism which he describes as :—

a horrible impiety taught and practised, which so far as it goes must needs destroy that part of holy life which consists in the holiness of our prayers ; and indeed is a conjugation of evils, of such evils of which in the whole world a society of Christians should be least suspected ; we mean the infinite superstitions and incantations, or charms used by their priests in their exorcising possessed persons, and conjuring of devils.²

Extracts are given from the service books used in exorcism and Taylor is inclined to make merry at the Romanists’ expense :—‘ the ordinary exorcisms cast out no more devils than extreme unction cures sicknesses ’.³ Many will dissent from Taylor in this statement ; for he appears to be more anxious to throw ridicule upon ‘ exorcism ’ and ‘ extreme unction ’ than to weigh impartially the spiritual significance of these rites. ‘ Demoniacal possession ’ is considered by some, well qualified to judge, to be a fact, while testimony to the efficacy of exorcism, even at the present time, is not entirely lacking.

The third chapter denounces the Roman system as destructive of Christian society and subversive of Christian morality. This is indeed a serious charge, which he attempts to substantiate by an appeal to the writings of

¹ p. 253.

² p. 262.

³ p. 266.

Cardinal Tolet, Emmanuel Sä and Sanchez all of whom taught that in some cases it may be lawful to lie and to steal. Taylor is very severe, and had he lived in the twentieth century when Englishmen have kindlier feelings even towards Rome, he would have hesitated before writing the following :—

Now by these doctrines a man is taught how to be an honest thief, and to keep what he is bound to restore ; and by these we may not only deceive our brother, but the law ; and not the law only, but God also.¹

Further it was commonly taught that faith need not be kept with heretics, and the seal of confession might in effect shelter murderers and rebels. The Papal claim to temporal authority has now an historical interest only, but in the seventeenth century it constituted a real menace to the stability of Great Britain and Ireland, and it is upon this account that Taylor assails the doctrine with great severity, more especially as it was the cherished opinion of the Jesuit Order, ‘ which is now the greatest and most glorious in the Church of Rome.’

A book attacking so incisively, not to say savagely, the Roman position was not likely to remain unanswered. John Serjeant who had been educated at St. John’s, Cambridge and afterwards at Lisburn, returned to England in 1652 an active controversialist for the Roman faith. He answered Taylor’s book in *A Discovery of the groundlessness and insincerity of my Lord of Down’s Dissuasive*. Other replies came from Edward Worsely, a convert from the Church of England, and also from an anonymous writer A. L. It was on account of these attacks that Taylor wrote the Second Part of the *Dissuasive*, in the Introduction to which he answers at

¹ vi, 274.

length the arguments of Serjeant and in Book II deals with the charges of A. L.

In the Second Part of the *Dissuasive*, a veritable mine of information about the matters in dispute, Taylor elaborates in greater detail the arguments he had levelled against Rome in his previous work. It is a little wearisome to read, and although Taylor was an able controversialist, he was occasionally extremely bitter and even flippant when touching upon opinions which his opponents held as true and sacred. But if the Second Part of the *Dissuasive* may be left unread, the 'Five Letters to Persons changed or tempted to change in their Religion',¹ are singularly interesting and from them it is evident that Taylor was as deeply concerned with individuals as with the Church he so gallantly championed.

¹ vi, 645-70.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ‘DUCTOR DUBITANTUM’

THE *Ductor Dubitantum*, ‘the most elephantine’ of all Taylor’s works, was published in 1660 and dedicated to ‘the most sacred Majesty of Charles II.’ The circumstances attending its appearance undoubtedly denied it a wide circle of readers, even had its subject matter and great length been to their taste. As it is, it is probably the least known of all Taylor’s works. Few indeed have either the patience or inclination to read through systematically the one thousand three hundred and sixty-three pages that go to make the work.

In preparing his *magnum opus* Taylor spared himself no pains. He ransacked every available source for material—the Classics, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Casuists both Roman and Lutheran—fondly hoping that this work would be regarded as his greatest contribution to theology and upon it his reputation depend. In this he was entirely mistaken. His devotional works and sermons have a charm and eloquence that can never die; but the *Ductor Dubitantum*, a work of massive erudition and a monument to Taylor’s amazing industry, is left on book shelves to gather dust. Fortunately for Taylor, posterity has seized upon his noblest writings and appraised them at their true value; but no student of Taylor’s works can ignore the *Ductor Dubitantum*; some study of it is vital to a full understanding of his genius. It is a book to be dipped into on many occasions, and although it may not be of any special value to the modern confessor, yet it cannot fail to open up

many channels of enquiry and is certainly provocative of thought.

The *Ductor Dubitantium* was by no means the only work of its kind in the seventeenth century. The Lutheran divines retaining in a modified form the Sacrament of Penance had made substantial contributions to the study of moral theology. Bishop Hall, too, had planned a work on casuistry, but his death prevented its completion; while Sanderson had been urged by Charles I, in his last hours, to devote the remainder of his life to writing 'Cases of Conscience.' Taylor's work may be said to be distinguished for the clearness with which he enunciates general principles which he subsequently illustrates from the stores of his vast learning and wide experience as a confessor.

In the Preface to the *Ductor* Taylor observes that in the Reformed Churches there was 'a great scarcity of books' dealing with cases of conscience. This he attributes to the neglect into which private confession had fallen, and to the general disinclination to study 'so pious and useful a ministration.' The Church of England was sadly deficient in works on casuistry, so that it became necessary for spiritual directors to rely largely upon foreign writers. Rome it is true had supplied an abundance of such works, but these Taylor condemns as erroneous and misleading. Hence the burden of vindicating the Church of England in this important sphere of her ministerial labours fell upon him. The following passage indicates the lofty spirit which animated Taylor in undertaking this colossal task :—

It is a great work and too heavy for one man's shoulders; but somebody must begin; and yet no man ever would, if he can be affrighted with the consideration of any difficulty in the world. But I have laid aside all considerations of myself, and with an entire dependence upon God for help, I have

begun an institution of moral theology, and established it upon such principles and instruments of probation which every man allows, and better than which we have none imparted to us. I affirm nothing but upon grounds of scripture, or universal tradition, or right reason discernible by every disinterested person, where the questions are of great concern, and can admit these probations. Where they cannot, I take the next best ; the laws of wise commonwealths and the sayings of wise men, the results of fame and the proverbs of the ancient, the precedents of holy persons and the great examples of saints.¹

The *Ductor* is divided into four books of unequal length. The first deals with the nature and classification of conscience ; the second with Divine Laws ; the third with Human Laws, and the fourth—a short book—with the nature and causes of good and evil. In the following pages some attempt is made to indicate the most important subjects contained in each of the books ; many minor matters, although extremely interesting, are necessarily omitted owing to the exigencies of space.

The First Book opens with a definition of conscience :—‘ the mind of a man, governed by a rule, and measured by the proportions of good and evil, in order to practice.’² Conscience is thus a natural possession common to all who have the capacity of understanding. It is the ‘ mind ’ of a man, and as such is concerned primarily with the intellect rather than with the will, although it is to be observed, it is ‘ in order to practice.’ Taylor distinctly states, however, that conscience is ‘ a judge, and a guide, a monitor and a witness which are offices of the knowing not of the choosing faculty ;’ but the will may nevertheless pervert the conscience so that it mistakes false principles for true. The functions of conscience are to dictate, to testify, to accuse or

¹ ix, xiv.

² p. 3.

excuse, to loose or to bind. These Taylor illustrates sometimes with great eloquence as in the following passage :—

But as he who is not smitten of God, yet knows that he is always liable to God's anger, and if he repents not, it will certainly fall upon him hereafter: so it is in conscience; he that fears not, hath never the less cause to fear, but oftentimes a greater, and therefore is to suspect and alter his condition, as being of a deep and secret danger; and he that does fear must alter his condition, as being highly troublesome. But in both cases conscience does the work of a monitor and a judge. In some cases conscience is like an eloquent and a fair spoken judge, which declaims not against the criminal, but condemns him justly: in others, the judge is more angry, and affrights the prisoner more, but the event is the same. For in those sins where the conscience affrights, and in those in which she affrights not, supposing the sins equal but of differing natures, there is no other difference; but that conscience is a clock, which in one man strikes aloud and gives warning, and in another the hand points silently to the figure, but strikes not; but by this he may as surely see what the other hears, viz. that his hours pass away, and death hastens, and after death comes judgment.¹

Taylor's remarks on ' peace of conscience ' contain a stern warning. True peace is not a state of self-satisfaction, which may indeed signify ' boldness and hardness of heart,' but it is rather the well-earned rest that comes after a ' severe enquiry.' Peace of conscience is therefore a fruit of holiness, the benediction bestowed upon all who are truly penitent; but it is not to be judged by ' sense and ease.' On the contrary, it is preceded by fear, and prayer and watchfulness, and ' then what succeeds is a blessing and a fair indication of a bigger.'

There are many other discussions upon the nature

¹ p. 31.

of conscience, worthy of close attention. Thus Taylor clearly distinguishes conscience from prejudice or passion, and insists upon the absolute standard by which the dictates of conscience judge, so that what 'is just to one, is so to all, in the like circumstances.' But nowhere does Taylor suggest that conscience is an infallible guide, although it be 'the mind of man' informed by God's laws. For

sometimes the state and acts of conscience are imperfect ; as the vision of an evil eye, or the motion of a broken arm, or the act of an imperfect or abused understanding : so the conscience in some cases is carried to its object but with an imperfect assent, and operates with a lame and deficient principle : and the causes of it are the vicious or abused affections, accidents or incidents to the conscience.¹

Hence Taylor classifies conscience, first in regard to its object as true or false ; that is, when the conscience is rightly or wrongly informed ; but in either case its authority is absolute. Between the true and false conscience there is the 'probable' conscience, to which Taylor adds the 'doubting conscience,' which, 'affrighted and abused by fear and weakness, determines nothing and consequently dares not do anything,' and lastly there is the 'scrupulous' conscience, which is like the 'doubting' conscience in being timorous, but is not entirely paralysed into inactivity. The remainder of the First Book is devoted to an analysis of these various types of conscience.

The right conscience is, briefly, right reason reduced to practice ; and as is to be expected Taylor does not tolerate any divorce of right reason and right conduct. The practical judgment of conscience is always agreeable to the speculative determination of the understanding.

¹ p. 48.

In other, and perhaps more familiar phraseology, the pure reason and the practical are reconciled in the right conscience. To establish this rule Taylor is naturally led to enquire into the relation of reason to religion. He states the case very cogently for those who contend that reason is no sure guide in religious faith, but while setting definite limits to the function of reason, the following passages shew that in his opinion *ratio precedes fides*. Thus he says :—

That into the greatest mysteriousness of our religion, and the deepest articles of faith we enter by our reason. Not that we can prove every one of them by natural reason, for to say that, were as vain, as to say we ought to prove them by arithmetic or rules of music ; but whosoever believes wisely and not by chance, enters into his faith by the hand of reason ; that is, he hath causes and reasons why he believes.¹

But :—

The reason of man is a right judge always when she is truly informed ; but in many things she knows nothing but the face of the article : the mysteries of faith are oftentimes like cherubim's heads placed over the propitiatory, where you may see a clear and a bright face and golden wings, but there is no body to be handled ; there is light and splendour upon the brow, but you may not grasp it ; and though you see the revelation clear, and the article plain, yet the reason of it we cannot see at all ; that is, the whole knowledge which we can have here is dark and obscure : ‘ We see as in a glass darkly,’ saith St. Paul, that is, we can see what, but not why, and what we do see is the least part of what does not appear ; but in these cases our understanding is to submit, and wholly to be obedient, but not to enquire further. . . . In these cases reason and religion are like Leah and Rachel : reason is fruitful indeed, and brings forth the first-born, but she is blear-eyed, and oftentimes knows not the secrets of her Lord ; but Rachel produces two children, Faith and Piety, and Obedience is midwife to them both, and Modesty is the nurse.²

¹ p. 61.

² pp. 64-5.

In pursuit of the same theme Taylor argues that while whatever is acceptable to reason is not necessarily true, that which contradicts reason cannot be regarded as a mystery of faith.

All truths are emanations and derivatives from God, and therefore whatsoever is contrary to any truth in any faculty whatsoever, is against the truth of God, and God cannot be contrary to Himself; for as God is one, so truth is one; for truth is God's eldest daughter, and so like Himself, that God may as well be multiplied, as abstracted truth.¹

Reason does not, of course, exhaust the content of truth; there are mysteries which are above the understanding, but not therefore against it; and Taylor is careful to point out that reason may be deceived by a false philosophy. From the foregoing passages, and many others could be quoted to the same effect, it is clear that Taylor allows to reason a very wide range in religious faith, but it must always be accompanied by the disposition of piety and humility, without which the secrets of the Gospel are hidden from the wise and prudent.

In his discussion of the problem of determination, where two motives operate, one 'virtuous' and the other 'secular', Taylor argues that the conscience is 'right' when the *prime* consideration is virtuous. In an interesting section he applies this rule to Holy Orders, where the prime motive to advance God's glory may be accompanied by some prospect of worldly gain. The latter is not inconsistent with a right conscience, provided that the principal end be the glory of God and the good of men. In the following passage he contrasts the character of the true priest with that of the hireling.

No man is fit for that office, but he that is spiritual in his person, as well as his office: he must be a despiser of the

¹ p. 66.

world, a light to others, an example to the flock, a great denier of himself, of a celestial mind, he must mind heavenly things : with which dispositions it cannot consist, that he who is called to the lot of God, should place his chief affections in secular advantages. . . . He therefore who simoniacally enters, fixes his eye and heart upon that which he values to be worth money, not upon the spiritual employment, between which and money there can be no more proportion, than between contemplation and a cart rope ; they are not things of the same nature ; and he that comes into the field with an elephant, cannot be supposed to intend to hunt a hare : neither can he be supposed to intend principally the ministry of souls, who comes to that office instructed only with a bag of money.¹

In all this discussion Taylor is eminently sane and practical ; but it is at least doubtful, whether this is the case when he proceeds to argue that it is lawful ‘to use arguments whose strength is wholly made prevailing by the weakness of him that is to be persuaded.’ That arguments must be adapted to the intellectual needs and capacities of those to be persuaded is unquestionably true, but to admit a false proposition for such purposes would appear on Taylor’s own showing to be a perversion of reason if not a disingenuous mode of argument.

There is nothing of special interest in Taylor’s discussion of the ‘confident’ or ‘erroneous conscience,’ but his account of the ‘probable or thinking conscience’ is remarkable for the elaborate moral demonstration, or ‘conjugation of probabilities,’ proving that the religion of Jesus Christ is from God. To analyse his argument would require a separate chapter, but it is hoped the reader will study it for himself.²

The doubtful conscience is graphically described as follows :—It is

¹ pp. 84-5.

² pp. 156-78.

an equivocal and improper conscience ; like an unresolved will, or an artist with his hands bound behind him : that is, the man hath a conscience, but it is then in chains and fetters, and he wears a hood upon his eye, and his arm in a string, and is only to be taught how to cut the knot, and to do some little things of advantage or security to his inter-medial state of impediment ; but a doubtful conscience can be no rule of human actions.¹

By distinguishing negative and positive doubts Taylor lays down a number of rules which he illustrates in a rather coarse fashion. In the last section of the First Book he treats of the ' scrupulous conscience which searches into little corners, measures actions by atoms, and unnatural measures, and is over righteous, and dares not act, or if it does, then cannot rest.'

Restlessness is the mark of a ' scrupulous conscience' :—

A disease most frequent in women, and monastic persons, in the sickly and timorous, and is often procured by excess in religious exercises, in austerities and discipline, indiscreet fastings and pernoctations in prayer, multitude of human laws, variety of opinions, the impertinent talk and writings of men that are busily idle : the enemy of mankind by the weaknesses of the body and understanding enervating the strengths of the spirit, and making religion strike itself upon the face by the palsies and weak tremblings of its own fingers.²

Taylor gives some excellent advice to those afflicted with a scrupulous conscience ; they are to seek a spiritual director, to pray and fast—but the latter in moderation lest it become a fresh cause of scruple ; to avoid books of ' ineffective and fantastic notion,' such as are books of ' mystical theology, which have in them the most high, the most troublesome, and the most mysterious nothings in the world.'³

¹ p. 220.

² p. 264.

³ p. 275.

The Second Book of the *Ductor* treats of Divine Laws and their 'collateral obligations.' Taylor opens the discussion with an account of the laws of nature, which he describes as the law of God given to man for the conservation of his nature and the promotion of the supreme end for which God designed him. The laws of nature are thus the foundation of all law, and in their essence immutable; but they may be dispensed with by the Divine Power, although always for some moral end, or through the intervention of some higher law. This preliminary examination of the nature of law prepares the way for the main theme:—that the Christian Law is the supreme rule of conscience.

The Mosaic Law was temporary and only binding upon the Jews. The Christian Law, on the other hand, is eternal and universal, but the Ten Commandments, although not 'a perfect digest of the moral law,' with the exception of the second and fourth, contain precepts of eternal obligation and are thus binding upon Christians. Taylor considers these two exceptions at great length. The Second Commandment, he concludes, is valid for Christians, only if 'the prohibition of making images be understood so as to include an order to their worship.' The Sabbath was, however, wholly abrogated by the Christian Law; its relation to the Christian Sunday he states in the following passage:—

The Lord's day hath taken into itself all the religion but not the rest of the sabbath; that is, it is a day of solemn worshipping of God and of remembering His blessings, but not of rest save only as a vacancy from other things is necessary for our observation of this.¹

Sunday is not observed because of any divine or apostolic injunction but as a commemoration of the

¹ p. 459.

Resurrection; the day itself has no more intrinsic holiness than any other day, but it does commemorate a singularly sacred event. Since there is no Divine Law for the regulation of Sunday observance, the Church has been left in liberty to decree as she thinks best. Taylor, reviewing the teaching of the Church upon this matter, repudiates entirely the notion that no labour is permissible on the Lord's day; 'labour is a natural duty, but to sit still or not to labour upon a whole day is nowhere by God bound upon Christians.'¹ The cessation from manual work is only 'accidental' to the due performance of religious duties; the primary obligations are prayer and worship, which having been observed the remainder of the day may be devoted to good works and industry. Taylor has unquestionably on his side the authority of the Fathers, and many synodical decrees which he quotes with telling effect. In his opinion those who forbid all work on Sundays as unlawful by divine ordinance are 'preachers of anti-Christ,' and he wisely urges that the 'best measures' for the determination of Sunday observance are Christian liberty and Christian charity.

With these two exceptions the Decalogue is eternally binding, and as expounded by Christ its obligation is infinitely greater. Christ is the Sovereign Lawgiver, and His law has therefore an eternal and universal significance; but He does not rule directly; the immediate application of His laws is, in Taylor's phrase, in the hands of princes. The question therefore at once arises whether it is lawful for a prince or a republic to permit anything for the public welfare which is admittedly contrary to the law of Christ. To this Taylor

¹ p. 465. See also *Great Exemplar*, ii, 409-34, where Taylor says all the Judaical feasts were abolished 'by the sponge which Jesus tasted on the cross.'

replies that no *law* may warrant such a procedure for then 'it erects a government against the laws of Christ,' but it may, on very rare occasions, be necessary to permit that which is contrary to the laws of Christ in order to avoid a greater evil.

Intimately connected with this line of argument is an interesting section in which Taylor considers the vexed question of whether Christianity permits of war. The following passages are given in full as they have more than a passing interest. In the first he reviews the various 'measures' by which war might be judged :—

If it be said that right reason must be the measures; I answer, that if right reason could be heard possibly there would be no war at all: and since one part begins the war against reason, it is not likely that he for any reason that can be urged shall lose his advantage. But besides this who shall be judge? whose reason shall rule? whose arguments shall prevail? and will he who is *minor in causa* be *minor in prælio*, he who hath the worst at the dispute yield also in the fight? and are not the *pugnacissimi*, the fighting men, such as will hear and understand the least reason?¹

Again :—

Some will have the law of nations to be the measure of war; and possibly it might if there were a digest of them, and a compulsory to enforce them: but there being neither, they are uncertain what they are, and are admitted with variety and by accident, and they shall oblige strangers when the men are conquered, and subjects by the will of the prince; that is, the measures of war shall be the edicts of any single general and nothing else.²

Christianity has nothing specifically to say of war because if the laws enunciated by Christ were obeyed, then war could not be.

If men be subjects of Christ's law, they can never go to war with each other; but when they are out of the state of

¹ p. 481.

² *Ibid.*

laws and peace, they fall into the state of war, which being contrary to peace, is also without all laws.¹

Taylor, however, was not a pacifist :—

But when public interests are violated, when kingdoms and communities of men and princes are injured, there is no law to defend them, and therefore it must be force ; for force is the defensative of all laws ; and when all laws are injured, there can be no way to reduce men to reason but by making them feel the evils of unreasonableness. If this were not so, then all commonwealths were in a worse state of affairs than single persons ; for princes are to defend each single person, and the laws are to secure them ; but if the laws themselves be not defended, no single person can be ; and if they could, much rather should all. Whatsoever is absolutely necessary is certainly lawful.²

Taylor thus clearly sanctions wars of defence, and he argues that they should be conducted according to the same principles which regulate private actions :—

The measures of action in public are no other than the measures of the private, the same rule of justice is to be between princes and between private persons . . . they must keep covenants, perform their words, hurt no innocent person whom they can preserve, and yet preserve themselves ; they must keep themselves within the limits of a just defence . . . he that is injured may drive away the injury, he may fight against invaders, he may divert the war if it be necessary ; but he may not destroy the innocent with the guilty, the peaceable countrymen with the fighting soldiers.³

For subjects who take up arms against their prince Taylor has nothing but condemnation ; there is but one 'measure' for them to observe—'to lay them down and never to take them up again.'

The example of Christ is thus the supreme rule of conscience, and Taylor brings to bear upon its interpretation such a wealth of illustration that the reader grows a

¹ p. 481.

² p. 482.

³ p. 483. See also x, 115.

little weary. One rule (XIV) calls for special notice. It deals with the Christian law of Faith, which being contained in the Scriptures, binds the conscience. The following passage is interesting as showing that Taylor held consistently to the principles he had enunciated in the *Liberty of Prophecyng*.

The apostles did not only foresee that there would be, but did live to see and feel the heresies and false doctrines obtruded upon the church, and did profess it was necessary that such false doctrines should arise: and against all this that they should not provide an universal remedy, is at no hand credible, and yet there was none but the creed; this all the church did make use of, and professed it to be that summary of faith which was a sufficient declaration of all necessary faith, and a competent reproof of all heresies that should arise.¹

Therefore Taylor adds, no man's conscience is to be oppressed with any teaching other than that which Christ and His Apostles have enjoined.

Book III is concerned with human laws and their obligation upon the conscience. Taylor states with admirable clearness the arguments urged by many Lutherans and by Gerson—whom he specially names—that ‘to submit the conscience to any law or power of man is to betray our Christian liberty.’ Such teaching was anathema to Taylor. He rejects it with much vigour, pleading that since the power by which men make laws is the power of God, then they are to be obeyed under pain of punishment. His conception of the supreme civil power is lofty indeed; it is not the servant of the people, but the minister, trustee and representative of God. The function of human laws is to make ‘particular’ what the divine laws express in

¹ p. 655.

substance; in other words the civil power has to interpret the Law of God as occasion requires, and in so far as this is done without tyranny, men are bound to obey.

The contempt of any law, be the matter never so trifling, be the lawgiver never so unconcerned, be the public interest never so little, yet if it be a law, and still in force, is a great sin, and lays a great load upon the conscience.¹

The violation of law involves a certain contempt of the lawgiver, and since all authority whether civil or ecclesiastical is derived from one source—God, lawlessness is sin. Christian liberty therefore is not to be understood as a liberty from human laws but rather a 'spiritual liberty' assured to mankind through the redemptive work of Christ. The essential difference in the obligation of divine and human laws is that the former bind immediately and by the 'right of God,' while the latter bind mediately and by the interposition of divine authority. In other words God is obeyed because He is God, man for God's sake. There is thus a fundamental distinction which Taylor observes, between divine and civil government; the former demands the surrender of both the will and the understanding, but human laws while exacting external obedience are powerless to coerce the understanding. Thus Taylor sums up the discussion:—

The law of God binds stronger, and in more cases than human laws. A breach of a human law is not so great a sin, nor is it so often a sin, as a breach of the divine.²

Having thus described the nature of human laws and contrasted them with the divine Taylor points out that if death is an inevitable consequence then human laws are not binding, because laws are made for the safety

¹ x, 17.

² p. 30.

and well-being of a community and not for the destruction of life. Similarly the laws of God 'do not oblige to actual disobedience in the danger of death,' provided that the violation does not amount to malice against 'a law of nature or of prime rectitude.' The exception to the above rule is when the danger of death is expressly contained in the law.

Thus the supreme power can command the curates of souls to attend a cure in the time of the plague, to go to sea in a storm, to stand in a breach for the defence of the army.¹

Further, the unjust laws of princes do not bind the conscience, since they are not for the public good, but if they are in the interest of an individual or for private advantage then they are tyrannical and the conscience cannot be bound by tyranny. It is the duty of a prince to have regard to his people; 'to take care of the whole republic, to live to them not to himself; days and nights to suffer anxiety in thinking for the profit and welfare of all.'² Thus unjust laws will not be promulgated. Similarly Taylor counsels patience and forbearance on the part of the subjects. The injustice of a law must be certain and 'notorious' before it can become a sufficient ground for disobedience, and in cases of doubt there must be submission; if held to be unjust the law must afflict not certain classes only, but the whole community.

Under Rule IV—'a law that is founded upon a false presumption does not oblige the conscience'—³ Taylor gives a curious example of a Venetian 'gentleman' who courts a senator's daughter with the secret intention of abusing and then leaving her. The lady in question is forced by her father into a contract with the Venetian who carries out his dishonourable design

¹ p. 37.

² p. 42, quoting Pliny.

³ p. 45.

and having deserted his first love marries another. Is he bound to the first? The law, says Taylor, presumes that the parties having contracted, their 'congress' declared a valid marriage; but he goes on to argue that while the 'gentleman' is condemned by the presumption of the law, he is relieved in conscience because without 'mutual consent' there can be no marriage. The reader will have some difficulty in accepting Taylor's conclusion for in this case the contract was made, although the Venetian had no intention either of making or of keeping it, but this does not lighten his condemnation in law or conscience.¹

Rule VII is characteristic of Taylor's mind:—that a law to bind the conscience does not depend upon its acceptance by the people. In the exposition of this rule he explains the nature of government.

All governments in the world did either begin right or wrong. If right, it was by divine appointment, or by the multiplication of the posterity of a patriarch. . . . This is the natural way, and this is founded upon natural reason, and a divine commandment.²

¹ A case somewhat similar to the above occurs in the newly discovered letter to Sir Maurice Eustace, Lord Chancellor of Ireland 1660–65, dated April 4, 1663; although the promise not amounting to a legal contract Taylor's ruling is here unquestionably sound.

'Titius promises privately without witnesses to marry Calpurnia, and then lies with her, he changes his mind and marries Mavia with her friends' consent *in facie Ecclesie*, with blessing and solemnity. The question is whether the later marriage or the first contract must stand? All the Lawes in Christendom pronounce in favour of the marriage, and Titius is bound in conscience to doe accordingly.' *The Times' Lit. Suppl.*, April 10, 1919.

² p. 56.

The 'wrong way' is when government proceeds from 'tumults,' by necessity and 'evil experiences.' Under this form of government laws may derive their sanction from the commonwealth.

The next point of interest is Taylor's discussion of a favourite topic with casuists ;—in what circumstances is it lawful to tell a lie ?¹ Now if the lie is unjust then it can never be lawful, since all men have a right to the truth ; but in some rare cases a 'superior' right may supervene. Thus Taylor justifies, not very satisfactorily, the action of the Children of Israel in borrowing jewels from the Egyptians, because 'God gave them commandment so to spoil them ;' but this, to the modern mind would appear to be placing the guilt upon God rather than upon those who were the deceivers.

In common with most casuists Taylor argues that lying to children and madmen is lawful, provided it is for their good because having 'no powers of judging, they have no right to truth ;' but an injurious lie is a sin. Not all will agree that it is allowable to lie to children even if it be for their good ; the lie may be remembered when the 'powers of judging' have been developed, and then the lie will be exposed ; and has not a child the right to truth ?

It may be lawful as Taylor says many good men have urged, to lie for charity or to save a man's life ; this would be generally admitted ; and in fairness to Taylor it is to be noted that he condemns severely deliberate lying where these extraordinary circumstances do not exist. If a lie 'be spoken to deceive, and not to profit,

¹ Among English writers who have maintained that under extraordinary circumstances it is lawful to lie may be mentioned Milton, Paley and Johnson. See Newman, *Apologia*, pp. 274-82, and his note on Lying and Equivocation, p. 348.

it is spoken to the injury of him that hears, and is a sin because it is unjust, and therefore not to be done for any good.'¹

His attitude to the whole question is well expressed in the following passage :—

But the case is not so clear in the matter of difference, when it happens between a great charity and an unconcerning truth. For who would not save his father's life, or the life of his king, or of a good bishop and a guide of souls, at the charge of a harmless lie, from the rage of persecutors and tyrants? God indeed in His providence hath so ordered the affairs of the world, that these cases seldom happen : but when any man is surprised or tried, unless he be sure that it is in that case a sin to tell a lie, he may be sure it is a very great sin to betray his prince or prelate, his father or his friend. Every man in that case would dispute hardly, rather than give up a good man to death. And if it come to a dispute, and that it be doubtful on either hand whether the lie in that case, or whether the betraying the man to death, be the sin, it is the safer way to determine for the charity than for the veracity ; because in case it be a sin to give him up, it is much a greater sin than to tell such a lie ; and then comes in the rule, *Caret peccato quod ex duobus minus est.* The lie is the less evil, and therefore it is no sin when it is chosen to avoid that which for aught we know is the greater.²

In the third chapter of this book Taylor deals with civil authority and while placing the monarchy on a very lofty pedestal, 'incomparably the best, and like to that which God governs the world,' he carefully distinguishes between the government of a tyrant and that of a king. The former regards his people as slaves, but the subjects of a king are free. The power of the king is absolute, but only for doing right ; he is not an 'arbitrary disposer of life and fortunes.' He stands above the laws

¹ p. 108.

² p. 109.

which concern his people only, but he is bound by all contracts and oaths which he makes either with his people or with other kings. The royal prerogative Taylor defends with much learning and urges again and again the duty of quiet submission on the part of the people.

I conclude,—Many supreme princes have laid aside their kingdoms, and have exchanged them for honour and religion ; and many subjects have laid aside their supreme princes or magistrates, and have exchanged them for liberty and justice. But the one got, and the other lost. They had real advantages ; and these had words in present, and repentance in reversion.¹

To the civil power Taylor attributes the supreme overlordship in all ecclesiastical matters, in opposition to the Roman and Presbyterian claim to spiritual autonomy. He argues at considerable length against the ‘two swords’ of Roman supremacy, but the pretences of the Presbyterians he dismisses as follows :—

They have not yet proved themselves to have received from Christ any power at all to govern in His church ; and therefore much less by virtue of any such power to rule over kings.²

The civil supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs Taylor insists is essential to the welfare of the community, for religion being ‘one half the interest of mankind,’ without this overlordship the prince would be divested of half his princely power. ‘If the prince cannot conduct his religion, he is a supreme prince just as if he had not the militia’.³ The foundation of all government is religion, and since errors in religious opinions may have a

¹ p. 199.

² p. 203.

³ p. 204

disastrous effect upon the community they are to be checked by the secular power :—

If a false religion be set on foot, a religion that does not come from God, a religion that only pretends God, but fears Him not, they that conduct it can lead on the people to the most desperate villanies and machinations.¹

False opinions are therefore to be suppressed by laws, but not by force. The King and not the Pope is the supreme head of the nation in all matters civil and ecclesiastical ; but if kingly power has an all embracing authority Taylor does not hesitate to point out its vast responsibilities. ‘Christ shall call kings,’ he says, ‘to account for souls.’ Honour is properly due to temporal sovereignty, but reverence to spiritual pastors :—

The rosary of christian graces is the tiar of their head, and their office is their dignity, and humility is their splendour, and zeal is their conquest, and patience is their eminence, and they are made illustrious by bringing peace, and promoting holiness, and comforting the afflicted, and relieving the poor, and making men and women useful to the public, and charitable in their ministries, and wise unto salvation.²

To the modern mind it would appear that Taylor allows little authority to the spiritual power ; and the question suggests itself what would happen if the civil and ecclesiastical authorities issue conflicting orders ; which is to be obeyed ? To this Taylor replies that in those matters not contravening a divine commandment the prince must be obeyed. Thus he may forbid a fast or a service on a particular occasion, but if these were prohibited absolutely by law then the bishop’s contrary command must prevail, because divine commandments

¹ p. 208

² p. 234.

are the issue. This is clearly illustrated in the following :—

If the supreme civil power should command that the bishops of his kingdom should not ordain any persons that had been soldiers or of mean trades to be priests, nor consecrate any knight to be a bishop ; though the bishops should desire it very passionately, they have no power to command or do what the civil hath forbidden. But if the supreme should say there should be no bishops at all, and no ordination of ministers of religion according to the laws of Jesus Christ, then the question is not whether the supreme civil power or the ecclesiastical is to be obeyed, but whether man or God : and in that case if the bishops do not ordain, if they do not take care to continue a succession in the church of God, they are to answer for one of the greatest neglects of duty of which mankind is capable.¹

In such cases as the above, the civil power is to be resisted only when it is impossible in any other way to maintain the succession. The prince is supreme. It is his proper authority to convene and dissolve ecclesiastical synods, and determine what doctrines are to be taught ; but he must not govern arbitrarily in spiritual affairs ; he is to take counsel with ‘ ecclesiastical persons.’

It is difficult for the twentieth century reader to appreciate Taylor’s arguments on all these questions ; but it must be remembered that then, theoretically at any rate, the Church and State were co-extensive. From the foregoing it would appear that Taylor leaves little power indeed to the Church. What precisely this is he proceeds to state. In the first place it is ‘ merely spiritual.’ The commission the Apostles received from Christ was to preach and baptize. They were not to command in the ‘secular’ sense, but to persuade. Nevertheless the Church then and now, possesses an inherent authority to

¹ p. 243.

command obedience through its bishops, who being by divine appointment, are empowered to ordain laws which bind the conscience in essential matters, but not in others. Taylor does not think it lawful, however, for the Church to excommunicate a prince or the supreme civil power, for by such an act the Church would bring the government into contempt and in effect destroy its authority. The bishop, however, not only can but must refuse the sacrament to princes who lead scandalous and evil lives. But

then the refusing it must be only by admonition and caution, by fears and denunciations evangelical, by telling him his unfitness to communicate, and his danger if he do: but if after this separation by way of sentence and proper ministry the prince will be communicated, the bishop hath nothing else to do but to pray, and weep, and unwillingly to minister.¹

So loyal is Taylor to 'the powers that be,' and so hostile to sedition, that he says the unlawful proclamations and edicts of a true prince may be published by the clergy 'in their several charges;' but he discreetly and warily continues, 'but yet they must not conceal from the people anything of their duty, nor yet from their prince when they can declare it.' Hence apparently an unlawful proclamation may be read in church, and then the minister is to admonish the people as to the proper course of action to be taken which might quite conceivably conflict with the civil edict. Again, Taylor argues that the 'guides of souls' have not a proper and spiritual power of enjoining penance upon a prince who has publicly sinned, unless he asks for and willingly accepts it. In private exhortations, however, a prince may be rebuked by his confessor for 'notorious adultery' or 'evident murder,' but not in public.

¹ pp. 303-4.

Taylor next considers the Church's power of excommunication ; 'the lesser' involving the separation of the condemned person from the peace of the Church until repentant, and 'the greater' passed upon 'refractory and desperate persons whom the church shakes out from her bosom.' Excommunication is to be sparingly used, and never unless it is a clear duty, for otherwise it becomes

an occasion of schisms and divisions in the church, and consequently may be an infinite breach of duty, a certain violation of one virtue, for the uncertain preservation of another . . . and so sometimes altars are erected against altars, and pulpits turn to cockpits, and seats of scorners and of proud and illiterate declamations.¹

The sentence of the lesser excommunication can only be passed with the sanction of the prince because it involves the isolation of the individual from the society of the faithful, which 'temporal penalty' is strictly within the power of the civil authority to impose ; but the spiritual censure remains, and the Sacrament cannot be received until absolution has been granted. If, however, the king so commands the ecclesiastical power may not deny its external ministry, but the person is guilty of sin who demands reconciliation without due repentance, and communicates unworthily.

The greater excommunication or anathema stands upon a different footing from the lesser, being authoritatively derived from Christ's own words.² It is pronounced upon grievous and scandalous sinners, and these the bishop, in his own right, may cut off from the Church provided nothing 'temporal or secular is mingled with it.' Those under the ban are not to be denied 'the offices of humanity and civility.'

¹ p. 311.

² St. Matt. xviii. 17.

The section dealing with the binding efficacy of the Apostolic Canons contains much interesting matter.¹ Thus he discusses the forty days' fast of Lent which since it was unknown in the first three centuries cannot claim to be of apostolic origin. The Catholic Church may nevertheless impose it, with many similar laudable customs, such as fasting communion to despise which he says is the 'testimony of an evil mind.' In the same section his remarks on 'sprinkling in baptism' and single immersion are exceptionally forceful.

But then that there is in dipping, and in the repetition of it, more correspondency to the analogy and mystery of the sacrament, is evident ; the one being a sacrament of the death and burial of Christ, the other a confession of and an admission to the faith and profession of God in the most holy Trinity : and therefore I say, it is sufficient warrant that every single person break that custom of sprinkling which is against the ecclesiastical law ; and it is also a sufficient reason to move the church to introduce a contrary custom to the other of single immersion, concerning which as yet there is no law.²

Those ecclesiastical laws bind the conscience, Taylor argues, which involve a divine commandment, and are in their nature of an universal and perpetual application, but in others freedom of conscience must be permitted to Christians. Thus to say with Bellarmine 'that they are not Christians that eat flesh in Lent,' Taylor dismisses as ridiculous. He does not deny the validity of ecclesiastical laws in particular churches which have authority to enforce them, but his point is that a law however excellent, is not to be regarded as an end in itself. Thus fasting he acknowledges repeatedly in his writings to have a spiritual value, but it has not an universal application ; the sick and weak, the aged and

¹ p. 340ff.

² pp. 371-2.

infirm are not bound to its observance. Ecclesiastical laws fulfil their function best when they promote the ‘service of God and the good of souls ;’ but it is an abuse when they become ‘ snares or a stumbling block to conscience.’

The observations he makes upon music in churches, and the marriage of bishops and priests are particularly interesting. From his remarks upon the first it is clear that much as Taylor loved eloquent and poetic language he had an almost Puritanical dread of musical instruments. They are apt ‘to change religion into airs and fancies, and take off some of its simplicity and are not fitted for edification.’ The sweet strains of music, other than vocal, are not in his opinion conducive to devotion. Those who favour congregational singing will welcome the following passage

but yet all wise and sober persons do find fault when the psalmody which is recommended to us by the practice of Christ and His apostles, does sensibly pass further into art than into religion, and serves pleasure more than devotion ; when it recedes from that native simplicity and gravity which served the affections and holy aspirations of so many ages of the church ; when it is so conducted that it shall not be for edification, that is, when it is so made accurate and curiosus that none can join in it but musicians, and they also are not so recitative, they do not sing and express the words so plainly that they which hear do understand ; for by this means the greatest benefit and use of edification is lost.¹

In discussing the marriage of bishops and priests Taylor shows from many instances that compulsory celibacy is an intolerable burden and an unreasonable law. It rests upon the assumption that ‘virginity’ is more holy than ‘chaste marriage’. Such an idea is repulsive to Taylor and with much learning and sound

¹ p. 412.

argument he emphasizes the sanctity of the marriage tie. He examines the teaching of St. Paul and finds therein no arguments to favour compulsory celibacy ; while the Early Church :—‘ not only forbade that the clergy should put away their wives, but left it indifferent for any man or any order of men to marry.’¹ Neither can it be reasonably urged that celibacy is a Catholic practice for the Greek and all Eastern secular priests are married men. The law forbidding marriage after ordination Taylor describes as

an evil law, . . . unnatural and unreasonable, . . . against public honesty, because it did openly and secretly introduce dishonesty ; it had no consideration of human frailty nor of human comforts . . . it was never admitted in the east, it was fought against and declaimed and railed at in the west, and at last is laid aside in the churches (especially) of the north, as the most intolerable and most unreasonable tyranny in the world ; for it was not to be endured, that upon the pretence of an unseasonable perfection, so much impurity should be brought into the church, and so many souls thrust down to hell.²

In equally strong language he condemns the law against the second marriage of priests, on the ground that it is a ‘ snare’, and a restraint of Christian liberty.

The section on ecclesiastical laws of faith, contains an interesting paragraph on subscription to articles, in which is clearly indicated the liberality of Taylor’s mind.

For though it may be very fitting to subscribe a confession of articles, yet it may be very unfit that we swear always to be of the same mind ; for that is either a profession of infallibility in the authority or in the article, or else a direct shutting our heart against all further clarity and manifestations of the truths of God . . . but yet he that subscribes must do it to those purposes and in that sense and signification of things which the supreme power intends in his

¹ p. 428.

² p. 434

commanding it ; that is, at least, that he who subscribes does actually approve the articles overwritten ; that he does at that time believe them to be such as it is said they are ; true, if they only say they are true, useful, if they pretend to usefulness, necessary, if it be affirmed that they are necessary. For if the subscriber believes not this, he by hypocrisy serves the ends of public peace and his own preferment.¹

The last section of this book calling for special notice is Taylor's examination of domestic laws, or the power which fathers have over the conscience of their children. There is nothing strikingly original in his treatment of this homely subject, but it is full of wise sayings and sound advice. The whole range of family life is covered, and there is one point on which perhaps not all will see eye to eye with Taylor. It concerns the father's right to choose his children's religion.

Children are within the holy rites of their parents while they are in their power . . . but when the son's understanding has been emancipated, when he can choose for himself, when he is capable of malice or perverseness, when he is judicable by external and public laws, then he is emancipated and set free, so as he can choose his religion, and for that the father hath no other power over him but persuasion and instruction.²

The last book of the *Ductor*, dealing with the nature and causes of good and evil, is marked by much practical sagacity and considerable intellectual power. It is divided into two chapters ; the first treats of efficient causes, and the second of final causes.

His whole argument in this book depends upon the validity of his first conclusion, with which most would agree, that actions are good or evil according as they are voluntarily chosen ; for if freedom be denied then

¹ pp. 447-8.

² p. 464.

responsibility is destroyed, and moral values are meaningless,

because if a man hath not a power to will or nill, it is to no purpose to write cases of conscience, or indeed to do anything as wise men should. A fool and a wise man differ not, a lazy man and a diligent, a good man and a bad, save only one hath a better star ; they differ as a strong man and a weak ; but though one be the better thing, he is not the better man.¹

Man being a free agent is therefore a moral being ; every act of volition has moral value ; it is either good or evil. The issue of moral choice, however, is not confined to the individual immediately concerned, but influences indirectly the community as a whole. In modern phraseology immoral actions are anti-social. This truth Taylor firmly grasps, and he points out that guilt attaches to those who approve an immoral action, and who give their consent to it though 'silently or implicitly.'

Two interesting discussions illustrate this part of his argument. The first raises the question, whether in entertaining a guest it is lawful for the host, while remaining sober himself to display so much wine as to render his visitor drunk.² Taylor decides emphatically against the host. Liberality he commends, but it must be restricted in accordance with Christian morality. In condemning the 'Italian gentleman' who thus intoxicates the German ambassador Taylor also attacks the insobriety of his day :—

But so corrupt and degenerous are the manners of Christians, that our feasts are ministries of sin, and every

¹ p. 550.

² The guest in this case is a German who 'after his country fashion thinks it no entertainment unless he be drunk.'

guest hath leave to command the house even when he cannot command himself.¹

In the second discussion Taylor considers the lawfulness of card playing. He does not attach any moral guilt to card playing *per se*, but its evil accompaniments, drinking, swearing, blasphemies, etc., are condemned. That there is an element of chance he freely admits but so there is in 'all human affairs.' If the game can therefore be dissociated from its evil appendages then it is innocent and lawful; and he draws up some excellent rules to this end.

The fundamental principle underlying the numerous rules and illustrations which Taylor gives, is that morality is dependent upon choice. The source of moral evil is to be found in the will. Thus he argues that the act of the will alone, although no external action results, is imputed to good or evil by God and man; and again, that an involuntary effect proceeding from a voluntary cause is imputed to the agent as though it were directly chosen. But in both cases there must be a previous knowledge of the good and evil; if this is lacking then the persons can be adjudged neither moral nor immoral. Ignorance, therefore, Taylor reckons as one of the 'diminutions' of voluntary actions; but he is careful to point out that to every man is revealed sufficient truth to live by and to effect his salvation. Even the 'heathens are not fools, they understand arts and sciences, they discourse rarely well of the works of God, of good and evil, of punishment and reward: and it were strange that it should be impossible for them to know what is necessary, and stranger yet that God should exact that of them which is not possible for them to know.'²

¹ p. 582.

² p. 616.

A man therefore is culpably ignorant if he refuses to know the 'universal lines and measures of salvation.' Invincible ignorance, such as that of a child or a fool, excuses the deed, because moral choice is eliminated. So too does concomitant ignorance, as when a man shooting at a stag by accident kills another person. But in this latter case Taylor makes certain exceptions necessary to the welfare of society. The most malignant form of ignorance is *vincible* and voluntary, when men wilfully shut their eyes to the light.

The second 'diminution' of voluntary action is fear which so paralyses the reason that it is rendered useless. Taylor discusses some extremely intricate cases and shows that not infrequently so far from being excused by fear, men are betrayed by it, and if a divine commandment is violated then they are guilty. On the other hand, if the understanding is unable to deliberate then 'the effect is pitiable but not criminal.'

In the second chapter Taylor considers the final causes of human actions and draws up three rules. The first is, that in every good action the means and the end must be 'symbolical,' that is, the prime consideration is the goal towards which the actions are directed. The whole life in its 'great intention' should be to advance God's glory. In the second rule it is argued that an action is not unlawful, even if profit, pleasure, or honour enter, provided that the chief end is good; but these secondary motives must be kept in subjection to the 'things better and more excellent.' The last rule he amplifies as follows :—

But the laws of God have it in their intention to regulate all the purposes and whole intention of the subject; and therefore our obedience cannot be measured only by the instance of the precept, but by the purpose of it. . . .

For he that intends the just end of all human actions, that is, the glory of God, can be assured that his purposes are right, when he measures them by their tendency to the end, better than by their commensuration with the expressed means.¹

He closes his great work with two apt quotations, one from Philostratus, and the other from Homer, which sum up the whole purpose of the *Ductor Dubitantium*.

We must take care that the end of our actions be all of gold. For in the service of God a golden head shall never have the feet of clay.²

¹ p. 659.

² *Ibid.*

APPENDIX I

TAYLOR'S WORKS

DATES OF FIRST EDITIONS

1.	A Sermon preached in Saint Marie's Church in Oxford, upon the Anniversary of the Gunpowder Treason	...	1638
2.	Episcopacy asserted against the Acephali and Aërians, new and old ...	...	1642
3.	A Discourse concerning Prayer Extempore	...	1646
4.	A Discourse of the Liberty of Prophesying	...	1646
5.	A New and Easy Institution of Grammar. (With Wyat) ...	...	1647
6.	Apology for Authorized and Set Forms of Liturgy	...	1647
7.	The Great Exemplar	...	1649
8.	Funeral Sermon at the Obsequies of the Lady Frances, Countess of Carbery	...	1650
9.	The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living.	...	1650
10.	The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying...	...	1651
11.	Clerus Domini	...	1651
12.	A Discourse of Baptism	...	1652
13.	A Short Catechism	...	1652
14.	Two Discourses : (1) Of Baptism ; (2) Of Prayer	...	1653
15.	Sermons for all the Sundays in the Year.	...	1653-5
16.	The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament	...	1654
17.	Unum Necessarium	...	1655
18.	The Golden Grove	...	1655

19. A Discourse of Auxiliary Beauty ... 1656

(This work includes a defence of artificial handsomeness; it was attributed to Taylor by Kennett. The second edition has the initials 'J. T., D.D.' and date 1662. It seems clear Taylor had some part in its composition, although Heber ascribes the work to Mrs. Katherine Philips—*Orinda* in Taylor's *Friendship*—and Mr. Gosse to Christiana Countess of Devonshire. The phrase 'artificial handsomeness' is also found in the *Ductor Dubitantium*, vol. x.)

20.	A Discourse of Friendship ...	1657
21.	Polemical and Moral Discourses ...	1657
22.	Collection of Offices ...	1658
23.	'Letter' in John Stearne's <i>θανατολογία</i> , Dublin	1659
24.	The Worthy Communicant ...	1660
25.	Ductor Dubitantium ...	1660
26.	Letters on Original Sin in 'A Second Part of the Mixture of Scholastical Divinity' by Henry Jeanes ...	1660
27.	Letter on Prayer, prefixed to Henry Leslie's 'Discourse' ...	1660
28.	A Sermon preached at the Consecration of two Archbishops and ten Bishops, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in Dublin, January 27, 1660 ...	1661
29.	The Whole Duty of the Clergy ...	1661
30.	A Sermon preached at the Opening of the Parliament of Ireland, May 8, 1661 ...	1661
31.	Via Intelligentiae: A Sermon to the Dublin University ...	1662
32.	Defence and Introduction to the Rite of Confirmation ...	1663

33.	A Sermon preached in Christ's Church, Dublin, at the Funeral of the Arch- bishop of Armagh	...	...	1663
34.	A Dissuasive from Popery, Pt. 1, 1664, Pt. 2	...	...	1667
POSTHUMOUS				
35.	Christ's Yoke an Easy Yoke (two sermons)			1675
36.	Contemplations of the State of Man	...		1684
37.	On the Reverence due to the Altar. Now first printed from the original manu- script, Oxford. (Edited by John Barrow, and also in 1899 by Vernon Staley)	...		1848

APPENDIX II

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EDITIONS OF TAYLOR'S WORKS

1. Edited by R. Heber in 1822 (15 vols.).
2. Revised and improved, by C. P. Eden in 1847–52 (10 vols.). This edition is quoted throughout this book.
3. Edited by T. S. Hughes in 1831 (5 vols.).
4. The Poems and Verse Translations, edited by A. B. Grosart 1870, *Fuller Worthies' Library*.

BIOGRAPHIES

1. G. Rust : *Funeral Sermon*, 1668.
2. A. Wood : *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss III. 781.
3. D. Lloyd : *Memoires*, 1668, pp. 702ff.
4. J. Ware : *Works*, ed. Harris, 1764, vol. i.
5. J. Granger : *Biographical Hist. of England*, 1779, vol. iii, 254.
6. J. Wheeldon : *The Life of Bishop Taylor, and the Pure Spirit of his Writings, Extracted and Exhibited for General Benefit*, 1793.
7. H. K. Bonney : *The Life of Jeremy Taylor*, 1815. The first serious attempt to write Taylor's life ; but Bonney overlooked Evelyn's *Memoirs*.
8. R. Heber. Prefixed to the 1822 edition of Taylor's Works.
It is still the completest life of Taylor. Heber was misled by the Jones' manuscripts. He says (vol. i, p. x) : 'The late Wm. Todd Jones,

of Homra, in the county of Down, esquire, Taylor's lineal descendant in the fifth degree, and who inherited no small portion of his talents and characteristic eloquence, was employed at one period of his life in collecting and arranging materials for a biography of his distinguished ancestor. Mr. Jones possessed, among many other interesting documents, a series of autograph letters to and from the bishop; and a "family book," also in his own handwriting, giving an account of his parentage and the principal events of his life.' Jones died as the result of an accident in 1818 and his projected work came abruptly to a close. But what is more unfortunate is the fate which overtook the manuscripts. According to Heber they were destroyed in a fire which consumed the Custom House and all that remained were extracts made by Jones from these documents; and a letter dated May 31, 1732, written by Lady Wray, said to have been the granddaughter of Jeremy Taylor. Heber also secured information—which he does not always accept—from Jones' sisters Mrs. Wray and Mrs. Mary Jones. It is upon the strength of these notes from the Jones' manuscripts that Heber constructed a tolerably full account of the Taylor family. They are said to have possessed an estate in the parish of Frampton on the Severn, and Nathaniel Taylor is claimed as the lineal descendant of Dr. Rowland Taylor. Gardiner is said to have been anxious to secure the family estate at Frampton which after the martyr's death passed into his hands. The difficulty in

accepting this account of Taylor's ancestry is the precarious nature of the evidence and the lack of corroborative testimony. Wood and Rust are both silent on the point. Indeed it seems almost certain, as Mr. Gosse has pointed out, that the story is 'apocryphal'.

Eden corrected and enlarged Heber's *Life* in 1854. The *Gentleman's Magazine* contains several references: 1783, p. 144; 1790, p. 301; 1791, pp. 515, 720; 1792, p. 109; 1855, p. 376. The last is the most valuable, being 'A Caius Man's' comments on Eden's edition of Taylor's *Works*.

9. T. S. Hughes. Prefixed to his selection from Taylor's *Works*, 1831. No special value.
10. R. A. Willmott: *Bishop Jeremy Taylor, his Predecessors, Contemporaries and Successors*, 1847. Interesting and accurate.
11. G. L. Duyckinck : *The Life of Jeremy Taylor*, 1860.
12. E. H. May : *Dissertation*, 1892. Diffuse.
13. J. Venn : *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius*, vol. i, 1897. Invaluable.
14. E. W. Gosse : *Jeremy Taylor*, 1904. Adds many interesting details. A delightful book, but does not attempt to estimate Taylor's contribution to theology.
15. G. Worley : *Jeremy Taylor*, 1904. A popular account of Taylor's life and writings. Diffuse.

TAYLOR'S THEOLOGY

1. R. Heber. A critical examination of Taylor's writings, vol. i of 1854 edition. Heber's Protestant bias is only too evident.

2. J. Tulloch : *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. i. An appreciation on the *Liberty of Prophesyng*.
3. S. T. Coleridge : *Literary Remains* (Notes on Divines). *Aids to Reflection* (Aphor., x. et seq.) Taylor's reaching on Original Sin is severely handled.
4. D. Stone : *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, vol. ii and *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1908.
5. W. J. S. Simpson : *The Prayer of Consecration*.
6. J. Hunt : *Religious Thought in England*, vol. i.
7. F. W. Farrar : *Masters in Eng. Theology*.
8. A. Barry : *Classic Preachers of the English Church*, Series ii.
9. K. E. Kirk : *Some Principles of Moral Theology*.

APPENDIX III

A

Extracts from the Parish Register of Holy Trinity, Cambridge

1589 ... Edmond Taylor, Churchwarden.
1605 ... Nathaniel Taylor and Mary Dean, married
 13th of October.
1606 ... Edmond Taylor, Churchwarden.
 Edmond, son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor,
 baptized August 3.
1607 ... Edmond Taylor, buried 22d of September.
1609 ... Mary Taylor, daughter of Nathaniel and
 Mary, 11th June baptized.
1611 ... Nathaniel Taylor, son of Nathaniel and
 Mary, baptized 8th December.
1613 ... Jeremy Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary,
 baptized 15th August.
1616 ... Thomas Taylor, son of Nathaniel and
 Mary, baptized 21st July.
1619 ... John Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary
 baptized 13th April.
1621 ... Churchwardens, Tobias Smith and Nathaniel Taylor.

B

Extracts from Uppingham Registers

The Rev. A. H. Snowden, Kelton Vicarage, Stamford, has copied the first volume of the Uppingham Registers, including

Baptisms	...	1571-1654.
Marriages	...	1571-1656.
Burials	...	1571-1654.

In this volume (p. 129) there appears the signature 'Jeremy Taylor, Rector Ecclesiae,' at the end of the page which has marriages from 1632-1638.

On p. 131 under date 1639 :

'Mr. Jeremiah Taylor, Rector, and Mrs. Phoebe Landisdale married May 27.'

On p. 213 Taylor signs in 1639 at the bottom of the page of burials.

On p. 215 similarly signed at date October 1640, and p. 217 signed at date August 1641.

The next page December 1642 is not signed.

On p. 219 under date 1642 occurs this entry :—

'William the son of Jeremy Taylor, Rector and Phoebe his wife was buried May 23.'

The Rev. G. L. Richardson, Rector of Uppingham, has kindly supplied the following extracts from vestry books 1638-1642.

Thursday, Easter 1638

Anthony Faulkener chosen churchwarden of Uppingham chosen by me.—Jeremy Taylor, Rector.

John Taylor chosen churchwarden by the parishioners of Uppingham. JEREMY TAYLOR, RECTOR.

April 15, Easter Munday, 1639

Anthony Falkner chosen churchwarden for ye Rector of Uppingham. JEREMY TAYLOR, RECTOR.

Robert Barriff chosen churchwarden for the parishioners of Uppingham. JEREMY TAYLOR, RECTOR.

John Wade

Will : Walton

Peter Markrith

Peter Pridmore

}

overseers for ye High Wayes.

JEREMY TAYLOR, RECTOR.

May the 10th Anno Domini 1639

These things dedicated for the Church of Uppingham
by the right reverende father in God the Lord Bishopp of
Peterburgh: in the Cathedrall Church.

(BISHOP JOHN TOWERS.)

- 1 chalice with a cover silver and gilt.
- 2 Patins silver and gilt.
- 2 Pewter flaggons.
- 1 Diaper napkin for a Corporall.
- 1 Bible.
- 1 Booke of common prayer.
- 1 Alter cloth of greene Silke Damaske.
- 2 Alter cloths of Diaper.
- 1 long cussion of crimson velvit lin'd w^th crimson
searge, w^th 4 greate tassells of crimson silke.
- 1 Short cussion of the same.
- 1 Tippit of taffety sarcenit.
- 1 Surplice.
- 2 Blacke hoods of Searge lin'd w^th taffety sarcenit.

Munday after Easter 1640

John Taylor chosen one of the churchwardens by the
Rector.

SIC TESTOR JER. TAYLOR, RECTOR.

Mr. Lyon Falkener chosen churchwarden by the
parishioners at the same time.

SIC TESTOR JER. TAYLOR, RECTOR.

Tuesday after Easter 1641

William Walton chosen one of the churchwardens by
the Rector.

SIC TESTOR JER. TAYLOR, RECTOR.

Nicholas Clipsham chosen the other churchwarden by the parishioners.

SIC TESTOR JER. TAYLOR, RECTOR.

On March 21st 1638, the Bishop of Peterburgh, granted a licence for the erection of an organ in the Parish Church with the recommendation that a salary of £12 per annum for the maintenance of an organist, be provided.

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A

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